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**INDIAN WARS OF
NEW ENGLAND**

VOL. II.

INDIAN WARS OF NEW ENGLAND

BY

HERBERT MILTON SYLVESTER

THREE VOLUMES

VOL. II.



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NEW ENGLAND

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SUB-TITLES

**THE LAND OF THE ABENAKE
THE FRENCH OCCUPATION
KING PHILIP'S WAR
ST. CASTIN'S WAR**

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ADDENDUM

In *Provincial Papers* of New Hampshire, vol. ii., p. 56, one finds "1691, September 28, David Hamilton, Henry Child . . . slain by the Indians at Newichawannock."

Vide also Stackpole's *Old Kittery*, p. 156; Elder John Pike's *Journal*.

David Hamilton was the original settler, though Stackpole mentions him as the son of a David Hamilton who died at Newichawannock prior to the raid of 1691. Stackpole is in error.

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FOR the poet and romanticist the Abenake country has been a prolific inspiration. It is the ancient Norumbega. The word itself is picturesquely suggestive of the marvelous tales of Ingram, whose visions of its golden towers rivaled the glow of the sunset's fires, and whose plethora of treasures surpassed those of the Incas. No wonder it became for a century the El Dorado, the Mecca, of the English and French adventurers along the northeast coast of Maine, whose traditions were finally to be dissolved into the thin air of unreality by Samuel de Champlain, in 1604.

Cartier was at Hochelaga on the St. Lawrence in 1534, but the results of this voyage were of indifferent importance. His voyage of the following year was of larger meaning, to be referred to later.¹

Romance and tradition have been no inconsiderable factors in the discovery and peopling of the

¹Cartier gives to the St. Lawrence River the name of "Hochelaga." On the present site of Montreal he found an Indian metropolis of that name which came to be applied to the surrounding region down river nearly to Quebec, where the country of the Saguenay began, and which extended still further down this great river. The name "Canada" appeared on the map of Gerard Mercator, 1569. Lescarbot is also authority for the name "Canada" as applying to both sides of this river.

Had Columbus kept to his western course, 28°N., as he left Gomara in September of 1492 he would have touched upon the Land of Bimini, the coast of Florida, about the latitude of Cape Canaveral as indicated upon some very early Spanish maps. Instead, he came in contact with the small Lucayan Islands.¹ Referring himself for information as to more favorable countries to the islanders, he turned the prows of his vessels to the south. It is unfortunate that of the many charts constructed by Columbus, not one has been preserved. It remained, however, for Sebastian de Ocampo to circumnavigate Cuba, in 1508. Doubtless it was through Ocampo the traditions of a great and de-

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lightful country, to which the natives of Cuba and the Lucayan Islands gave the name of "Cautio," in which was a reported fountain that restored youth to the old and health to the sick, were carried to Spain, by reason of which many private adventurers and explorers undertook the discovery of this wonderful land which was charted by the Portuguese as early as 1520.

One of these to set sail for Bimini was De Leon. In 1513, with three ships, he set sail for the Lucayan Archipelago. On Easter day of that year he discovered the Land of the Bimini, "La Florida," which was practically the end of his search. The fountain was a myth, and the legend was forgotten in the building of St. Augustine by Menendez.

As late as 1582 Lok follows the Verrazano charts in undertaking to locate the "Sept Cities," the "Brandan Isles," and "Emperada," to all of which were attached marvelous myths, which were food for the credulous of the Hakluyt school, of which De Leon was a lively prototype.¹ To De Leon the location of the Bimini was as real as the

¹The Genoese believed generally in these fabled cities which were supposed to rise out of strange seas, and sent many an expedition out hoping to discover them. Nor was this belief confined to the Genoese. The Spaniards were no less credulous. On the old charts one sees the "Sept Cities," "Isles of St. Brandan," "Isles of the Bimini," where was the fabled fountain whose waters owned to the virtue of endowing one with eternal youth.

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Azores. The very unreality of the myth endowed its romance with the potency of truth; but those were days when the tales of discovery of gold and precious stones in the New Country across the seas to the west were the charm to give credulity the reins, and the chase after quick wealth was as madly and unconscionably engaged in as in these days of the twentieth century.

The desire for acquisition and the mending of impoverished fortunes made the wish the father of the conviction that any tale gilded with the glamour of the coveted precious metals of the Americas was the veriest truth; that they were to be had for the going after. Ships were fitted out for many a fruitless voyage; yet not altogether fruitless, ultimately, for, like De Leon, their adventurers, urged on by cupidity, made discoveries by which others later profited abundantly, and by which the civilization of the greatest country in the known world was made possible in the brief span of little less than four centuries. If human hopes, unstable as water, based upon the meanest trait in human kind, ever accomplished great things, in this instance they may be said to have at least paved the way for the greatest miracle among nations.

The rich, fabulously rich, harvests gleaned by the Spanish adventurers who followed upon the heels of Columbus whet the appetites of the English and French the more keenly, and Ingram's tales of the mythic Norumbega told in one English alehouse or

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another were gulped down by his wonder-thralled listeners. Spain had preëmpted the country about the Antilles, but Cabot had opened the door to the English supremacy about the Rio de Gomez.¹ In Norumbega the north coast had its fabulous tradition of like fabulous riches, which were to be realized in quite a different fashion.

According to Herrara, as early as 1506 Nicolaus Don, a Breton navigator, made a voyage to Bacchaos (Newfoundland); but, driven southward by a tempestuous storm, came to the land of Norumbega, where he found a people of "good manners and fashioning," who "wore collars and other ornaments of gold." This is the first upturning of the soil in the Norumbega legend. That it became a popular belief that here was a great city in the New World wilderness is certified by a French map made as early as 1543 for either Frances I. or Henry the Third. It is known as "the Dauphin map," of which the Bishop of Viseu, Don Miguel de Sylva, was the possible author, who locates Aurobagra upon the Penobscot River by two castellated towers. M. Jumard accepts "Aurobagra" as a corruption of "Norumbega," which appears first on the Verra-

¹ Estevan Gomez is credited with having explored the Penobscot River in 1525. He saw an abundance of deer here, and is thought to have given to it the name "Deer River."

² Nicholas Don and David Ingram are the romantic authorities for such lavish display of metals among the savages of the ancient Norumbega.

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zano charts, according to Lok's map of North America (1582). Verrazano was here in 1524. Biddle is of the opinion that it was on the Norumbega coast this navigator lost his life.¹

From this time down, Norumbega is of importance as having included all the country from Cape Breton to New York Bay, which the French and English narrowed to the immediate vicinity of the Penobscot. John Rut (1527) has been credited with the first English association with this locality; but Purchas assumes "there is nothing to prove that Rut ever reached even Cape Breton." David Ingram, a wandering seaman following the savage trails from the Florida coast northward, was the first Englishman certainly known to have visited Norumbega. He was here very late in the year 1568, or early in the following year.

The story of this Penobscot country begins with Estevan Gomez in 1525, and is continued by Hakluyt in his printed version (1589) of David Ingram's wonderful tales of the golden city of

¹ Ramusio, vol. iii, p. 417.

Wytffleit, p. 185.

Biddle's *Memoirs of Cabot*, p. 275.

Barcia (*Ensayo Chronologico*, p. 8) has it that Verrazano was hanged as a pirate at Puerto del Pico in 1527.

Parkman regards this latter assertion as fully confirmed by recently discovered documents.

Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World*, p. 202.

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Norumbega, which were absolutely discredited in 1605 by Champlain, who made the ascent of the Penobscot, the limit of whose exploration was what is now the city of Bangor. All that was left of Ingram's marvelous dream were a few huts of bark and a huddle of swarthy savages.¹

Perhaps the locality most prolific in romance, after the fables of the Antilles, was this mythic country somewhere about the upper waters of Penobscot Bay, among whose towering pines and hemlocks were hidden the roofs that eclipsed the palaces of the Cæsars; the glamour of which awakened the cupidity of the Old World to the wildest of adventuring; a desire for acquisition which finally sent Du Guast and Champlain upon what proved to be a bootless errand, except that Ingram's incredibilities were peremptorily disposed of and the great river of New England and its adjacent coasts were for the first time carefully surveyed and charted.

Leaving the coming of John Rut (1527) to the "Arembec" country to the captious critic, it may be safely asserted, however, that the first Englishman surely known to have traversed any portion of Norumbega was the sailor David Ingram. One of the most successful pirates of his time was Captain John Hawkins, who found himself in 1568 in the Gulf of Mexico, short of ship's stores. In October

¹ Champlain's *Voyages*.

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of this year he sailed for England, leaving stranded somewhere along the Gulf Coast a hundred, more or less, of his men, to get back to civilization as best they could. Ingram was one of these unfortunates. With two others he started northward along the coast, keeping to the trails of the savages as they wound through the dense and apparently impenetrable forests, subsisting upon roots and such fruits as were in season, begging their way of the savages, from one village to another, until he alone came to the Penobscot River.

Cabeca de Vaca, who came over with Narvaez in 1528, was for six years a captive among the Indians, and, making his escape, spent twenty months in his travels over these trails. Antedating Ingram by forty years, he found well-worn arteries of travel which he described as running in all directions for thousands of miles. It was over some of these that Ingram and his two companions traveled. McKeen, the writer of contemporary history, says these trails extended from Nova Scotia to Georgia, and he describes an Indian trail: "Coming from the Penobscot and further eastward, [it] came down St. Georges River to New Harbor, an ancient traditinary carrying-place and portage to Pemaquid Fort." From thence it turned toward Damariscotta and the waters of the Sheepscot, and was formerly a great thoroughfare. It was over these woodland roads the French came to make their attacks upon the English settlements. That Damariscotta was

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on this great thoroughfare is evidenced by the immense heaps of oyster-shells, occasional finds of relics, burial-places, and sites of bygone Indian villages discovered in the vicinity in later times.

From the Penobscot Ingram kept on to the St. John River, where he found the *Gargarine*, commanded by Captain Champagne, in which he sailed for France. Crossing the Channel, he finally reached England in safety, which was, in a way, the ending of a marvelous exploit, taking into consideration that Job Hortop, one of his companions, did not reach England until twenty years later; whereupon he, like Ingram, told wonderful tales in his "Rare Travailles," which, though not so richly embellished as those of Ingram, were sufficiently alluring, and, in a way, corroborative of the latter's most aspiring imaginings.

Upon his arrival in England Ingram at once became a person of importance. His evident desire for notoriety was the excuse of his mendacity. As a precursor of Defoe he met the popular taste, which was attested by the avidity with which his wonderful tales of the city of Bega were accepted, whose pillars were of crystal and silver; whose roofs were one continuous glitter of precious metals, the length of which was a full mile; which abounded in gold, jewels, and peltry; nor did he omit the elephants from his Oriental picture.

After this, one Fernando led the first English expedition to Norumbega (1579), but his discoveries

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were unimportant. He was followed by Gilbert. It is asserted by some writers that Gilbert was here the year preceding Fernando, but such is hardly more than a possibility. It is true, however, that the year after the voyage of Simon Fernando, John Walker led an expedition hither under the auspices of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. He found a wealth of furs, and a silver-mine. Gilbert's explorations came to a tragic end three years later.¹

In 1593 Richard Strong was here and reported seeing a people, whom he "judged to be Christians," in the country to the southeast of Cape Breton. Before that, in 1585, Lane, a contemporary writer of these expeditions, had heard of the houses of Norumbega being covered with metal, which Ingram's imagination had transmuted into gold and copper almost twenty years before.

With Jacques Cartier² on the St. Lawrence in

¹ Sir Humphrey Gilbert was lost off the Azores in a storm in the autumn of 1583. He had made a previous voyage hither in 1578; for in Dee's *Diary*, under date of August 5, 1578, one finds: "Mr. Raynolds of Bridewell took his leave of me as he passed through Dartmouth to go with Sir Humphrey Gilbert towards Hochelaga."

² Jacques Cartier was born in December, 1494, and is supposed to have been a native of St. Malo. A likeness of this navigator, which is considered doubtful by some authorities, hangs in the Town Hall of that French city.

Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World*, p. 202, note.

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1534-35, and his founding of an ill-starred settlement that was abandoned in 1544, the sixteenth-century story of Norumbega is rounded out.

To the voyager down the Maine coast is opened up a series of landscapes, unsurpassed in grandeur and various charm — nature pictures in the original — stretching from headland to headland along this natural gallery of the eldest of the Old Masters. From the knob of Cape Porpoise to the Passamaquoddy waters,¹ eastward, where the sun rises out of the sea to paint the brilliant emerald or pearly gray of the marshes with a roseate warmth and the salt creeks with a liquid silver, kindling countless invisible altar-fires of uprising mists amid the undulating wastes of color that drift seaward on the morning breeze, or, windless, weave diaphanous webs to bleach them into nothingness as the sun climbs the hills, the vision is enchanted with the growing beauty. Alongshore, between the headlands, these marsh areas run from the black ooze of the sea-rim into the dusky glamour of wildernesses of woods that merge with ever-softening lines into the receding hills, as yet apparently untouched by the hand of man.

Sinuous threads of silver these salt creeks are, spun from the like silver spindle of some fountain hidden away among the mysteries of the verdurous woods, whose face, upturned to the blue of the sky,

¹ Bay of Passamaquoddy ("great pollock-water").

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mirrors the brooding quiet of its environment, and, crooning with low, rippling note, breaks over its narrow rim and runs away to merge its purity in the savor of the sea. So the pictures grow with the reaches of open lands alongshore, with here and there the dun roofs of farmhouses to sound the notes of every-day realities, while myriad color-tones, softly seductive to the sense, are massed with yielding courses along lines of as constantly diminishing perspectives. Now and then these masses of color break apart as these perspectives shorten into immediate foregrounds that hedge the vision within an overhanging shag of shore whose edge is the unbleached devil's apron that smothers the cleavage of the cliffs; or the endless surf, that, like an empty shuttle, flies aimless with the ceaseless tides; while above is the scent of the bayberry and the evergreens, and over all is the bowl of the blue sky.

In the days of primeval things only the water-fowl wrote across the sun's slant rays the hieroglyphics of a leisurely flight. Off-shore, the winds were laden with the odors of an undiscovered Cathay,— the intoxicating sweetness of wild-grape blossoms, mingled, perchance, with the creosotes from some nomad blaze.

Fascinating pictures these, that with every sunrise crowd the great river where Estevan Gomez moored his little caravels; which in these days are not so different, except that the spires of the hem-

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locks, lit up with the glowing sunset fires, have been with the years transmuted into slenderly steeped points of flame above the huddled roofs of a town. The same massive headlands look out to sea; the same wastes of marsh grasses bend in the wind, revels of color, or dun with a smudge of smothering rain. Here are the same spontaneity of nature, the same rugged strength, the same abandon, as of five centuries ago — even though men have plotted for the possession of its unexplored mystery and have written their titles in human blood. Now, as then, the untamed ocean is singing the song of the tides, the same song that lulled Gomez and Champlain as they slept or rode out the tempestuous gale under the lee of the Penobscot woods.

As one sails up these waters it is as if one held in his fingers Ariadne's silken thread; for one has passed well within the realm of mystery and legend, the land of traditions, and, unawares, one is over the threshold of the beginning of things hereabout so far as New England is concerned. Here, one is unconsciously in touch with far-off days whose technique is that of strange peoples and aboriginal living,— the atmosphere of unknown centuries.

Champlain and Du Guast were here July 1, 1605, to sail up this bay on that memorable voyage in search of Ingram's fabled city.¹ They left behind

¹When Champlain came to Kenduskeag (Bangor) in search of the city of Norumbega he found only a few huts and a like

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miles of sloping uplands, meadow-lands, and yellowing marshes, hugging the shadows of Camden's trossachs, or keeping to the open of the Islesboro shore. At the Narrows they left the bay and were in the river. Twenty miles above they dropped their anchors at the mouth of the Kenduskeag;¹ their voyage of the exploration of the Penobscot was practically completed.

For them the realm of romance had receded, that in its very elusiveness seemed but the more real. The middle Penobscot country was *terra incognita* no longer. There were no dazzling visions of promiscuous wealth; no signs of Sheba's lavish display; no princely retinues, dusky and swart, or even a remnant of savage splendor; — only the silence of the woods weaving their shadows in the flood-tide of the stream under the witchery of the summer sky; the silence of the wilderness, pregnant with inscrutable mystery; a huddle of bark shelters; mayhap a swirl of blue smoke to suggest a bit of the Old Country, with the Old Country left out. Mayhap Sieur de Champlain looked out upon the strange scene as with the eyes of a seer, or heard in the low murmur of the river-breeze the

few half-clad Indians, whose condition betrayed their poverty. Undoubtedly Champlain took his disappointment keenly, while Lescarbot made it a subject for his French wit. Lescarbot, *New France*.

¹Kenduskeag ("the place of eels").

Dictionary of American Indian Names.

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eternal query, "What went ye out into the wilderness for to see?" He had "found the reed shaken with the wind" and the reading of a new prophecy; but the golden towers of Norumbega, that barbaric mystery of a semi-barbaric age, somewhere hidden amid the western woods, had faded with the splendor of the setting sun.

Champlain's coming hither was the beginning of new things. Out of a possible dream of Utopian magnificence were to come the actualities of conquest and reprisal; the crumbling to ashes of wide ambitions and king-craft; the story of a French amour, of priestly intrigue, of savage treacheries; the savage torch, and like savage butcheries; for Champlain had opened up another great highway of the New World to the greed and rapacious cruelty of his time.

The golden city that was always aflame as the sun went down, setting the tree-tops of the Penobscot wilderness aswirl in a sea of molten splendor, that to one knightly soul was akin to that discovered to John at Patmos as the heavens were rolled up as a scroll, remained undiscovered; but Champlain is said to have found its memorial among the Penobscot woods. It was a wooden cross, that marked the lone spot where the heavenly city was revealed, at least to one pilgrim. Old and mossy it was, and smothered deep in woodland shadows. Here, to one at least, was the awakening from an empty dream, the interpretation of a splendid

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fable. It bore no legend, yet it stood for a toilsome search ended, whose story was lost, but whose memory had been for a little span perpetuated by some faithful henchman who had marked his master's last resting-place with the emblem of the Church. Only God's finger had traced the epitaph with the tender growing things of earth, while the primeval cathedral of the forest had made sacred the mystery of this humble crypt with the *Te Deums* of the summer suns and the *Magnificats* of the winter tempests.¹

Amid this land of shadows and beaded waters this lone wooden cross was as the voice of one crying in the wilderness, unheard and unheeded, unless by that other choice spirit whose English greeting was not long after hushed amid the mystic silences of ancient Sagadahoc,— that last nobleman of his race, Samoset, to whom old Norumbega was a familiar and happy hunting-ground.² The annalist of this first exploration of the Penobscot by Champlain simply mentions the finding of this lone cross, the isolate memorial of his own kind among these wilderness woods — nothing more. He left it as he

¹There is a tradition, but its origin is obscure, that Champlain found a wooden cross in the deeps of the Penobscot woods on his voyage of exploration up the river of that name in the fall of 1604.

²Champlain makes no mention of the fact in his record of this voyage inland, though it has come down from a contemporary annalist.

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found it; and, as a part of the romance of Norumbega, it revealed to him the futility of earthly desires. But the romance of Norumbega is never dead; for its pilgrimages are as eternal as time itself.

Here was the Land of the Abenake, known possibly to the fishermen of Brittany for some centuries before the coming of Cousin and Pinzon, who are supposed to have antedated by some few years the advent of Columbus upon the western continent. The Norse had undoubtedly skirted these shaggy shores on their way to Vinland long before the Basques,¹ but until Champlain no effort had been made in the guise of a European civiliza-

¹ Lescarbot, vol. i., pp. 236, 237.

Codex Flatyensis.

Palfrey, vol. i., p. 55, note.

De Laet, p. 39.

Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 30.

“Baccalaos” is undoubtedly of Basque origin. This country bore that name before the voyage of Cabot.

Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World*, p. 192, note.

Bellet, in Sylvester, *Maine Pioneer Settlements*, vol. ii., p. 40.

Reynel's map (1504-05) has it *Y dos Bocalhós*; Kunstman (1514), *Bacolnaus*. Newfoundland, Labrador, and Nova Scotia are included in this generic description. Peter Martyr says that Cabot, on his first voyage of 1497, gave this name to the region. Cosa, however, does not give it on his map of the earliest recorded chart of Cabot's New World discoveries. Kohl says the word is of Portuguese origin, but admits the word had been in use long before 1497.

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tion to interpret the mystery of the wooded silences that followed the course of the setting sun in interminable folds of dusky verdure.

Of the extent of the Abenake¹ country, the customs and traditions of its people, practically nothing is known, other than in the most general way, until the intercourse of the French and English with them. The investigator into the history of the Indian tribes of New England is confronted by the scant material which is offered to him for the reason that the only literature available outside of those conditions which were apparent to the early English voyagers is to be found in their unwritten

¹ When Gosnold was on the Maine coast in 1602 (Hakluyt's *Voyages*, vol. iii., London edition, 1810) some of the Indians who came on board the *Dartmouth* were garbed like Europeans. Their attitude was bold and fearless. They made a rude drawing on the ship's deck, outlining the coast with a bit of chalk. Popham and Gilbert had just dropped anchor at Pemaquid (1607) when a party of savages rowed out to their vessels in a Spanish or Basque shallop.

Maine Hist. Coll., vol. iii., p. 293.

Thornton, *ibid*, vol. v., p. 144.

The Pilgrims at Plymouth were greeted in the English tongue by "a sagamore towards the North where English ships came to fish" (Pemaquid).

Wonder-working Providence, 1654, chap. viii.

Mourt's *Relation* (New York edition, 1848), p. 57.

Smith's *Historie*, p. 233.

Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*, p. 93.

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traditions.¹ Whatever modern writers have had to say about this savage people in the numerous works upon the subject, there is little foundation for their conclusions. They certainly have not made the subject any clearer; though, in many instances, what they have written has been accepted as having some weight — possibly more than it deserved. The course taken by the earliest voyagers to this coast with these savages was not such as to inspire upon the part of the latter a feeling of friendliness and confidence in the stranger. As the

¹There is a beautiful Penobscot myth of the Creation by Klose-Kom-beh.

Klose-Kom-beh, after preparing this earth for his red children whom he had in mind to create, in his wanderings over this part of the world met a woman bowed with the infirmities of age. She was Nok-a-mi, the No-ko-mis of Hiawatha, the earthly mother and nourisher of animal life. She addressed Klose-Kom-beh: "Noo-sus [my grandson], I am ages old, yet when the sun shone warmly on the dew of the rock, I assumed the form of a woman. I will be your grandmother. I will keep your lodge, prepare the food, and comfort the children which are to be of your kindred."

The following morning a youth appeared to Klose-Kom-beh. It was Nar-sar-sis (my mother's brother). He had the bloom and virgin perfection of nature, having been born of the warmth of the sun on the foam of the waters. He had been wafted hither on the caressing winds of Heaven, and the great Voice had commanded him to go forth to seek his bride, who should be born of the bloom of the flowers. The day after the coming of Nar-sar-sis there stood in his path a maiden of marvelous beauty. The soft hues of every living blossom

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English came in larger numbers, and the settlements were extended into the Abenake country, the history of this people began to take fashion; and it is that which has been given to us, rather than that which anticipated these experiences.

The advent of the European upon this coast was impelled solely in the interests of commerce; and while the road to Cathay was found to be blocked by a vast continent, they found here vast possibilities of trade, which, as the new country became better and better known, were improved to the ex-

were hers. Her eyes were on the ground, as she approached Klose-Kom-beh, who gave her the name of Nee-gor-oose (mother of men). Then Klose-Kom-beh gave the maid to Nar-sar-sis in marriage. When he took her to himself she said: "I am love which I give to you, my husband, forever. If you grant my wish, all the world will love me, even the beasts. I am most gentle, as tenderly frail as the earth flowers from which I am born, yet I am of great power, and to the man who does not keep my love pure I bring exceeding sorrow and trouble. The dew of morn and eve mingled in the perfume of an opening bud, and Love was born. Behold, I am the gift of Infinite Love."

Then Klose-Kom-beh called upon the Lightning Spirit to smite a tree to give them fire wherewith to prepare their food, which Nok-a-mi attended to, and it was Nok-a-mi who showed them the edible nuts of the woods, the fruits and roots, and showed them the fountains where bubbled the Waters of Life, the same from which she had her own birth. It was in this way the world of the red man began; and for many seasons, while Nar-sar-sis kept his love pure for Nee-gor-oose, their lives were filled with peace and contentment.

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tent that hardly more than a century and a half were required to obliterate the aborigine, and to Anglicize what was once a wilderness into a civilized country. The primitive living of the aborigine was such that the only trade possible between him and the white adventurer was a barter of furs.

The Abenake people were fairly distributed over a considerable area of country, which is now represented upon the map of New England as lying within the boundary-line of Maine and New Hampshire. While the Etchemins,¹ Micmacs, and the Abenake have been considered as one nation,—undoubtedly by reason of the similarity of their customs and traditions, and, as well, for the unity of action displayed in their abortive effort to stay the tide of the English occupation,—they have been by many regarded as one people. There is, however, a physical difference between these three races, the Abenake being more stalwart than either of the other two. Their system of government was practically the same, their movements being directed by one man, who was designated as the sachem, who might have been assisted in his functions of ruling his tribe by councillors or subordinate sachems, who were the heads of subdivisions

¹The Indians of eastern Maine and New Brunswick, wholly, were known, racially, as Etchemins. Between the Saco and St. John Rivers were the true Abenake. In Nova Scotia were the Micmacs, or Souriquois. The numerous families

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of the great family. The chief ruler of the Abenake was known as the "Bashaba," who was supposed to be at the head of the eight tribes comprised by the Penobscots or Tarratines,¹ Passamaquoddies or

between the St. Lawrence and Hudson's Bay were known to the French as the Montagnais. The tribes west of the Kennebec were rude tillers of the soil. Those to the eastward depended mostly upon the chase for their sustenance. Climatic conditions east of the Penobscot were less hospitable, which, while affording its savage dwellers but a meager living, assured them a certain protection from the more powerful tribes to the westward, notably the Iroquois (Mohawks). Fear of the Mohawk war-cry had populated the wildernesses of eastern Maine, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, who are described by Champlain as "savages of shape altogether monstrous: for their heads are small, their bodies short, and their arms thin as a skeleton, as are also their thighs; but their legs are stout and long, and all of one size, and when they are seated on their heels, their knees rise more than half a foot above their heads, which seems a thing strange and against Nature. Nevertheless, they are active and bold, and have the best country on all the coast towards Acadia" (*Des Sauvages*, f. 34).

Here is an exaggeration which reminds one of Ingram's wild tale of a palatial city in the Penobscot wilderness, or of Jean Allefonsce's story of the dwarfs who inhabited it.

¹Tarratines, or Tarrateens,—a term used by Pilgrims and early settlers to denote the Abnaki; but while modern authorities seem inclined to accept this view, there is doubt as to the aboriginal source of this term. After the exodus of the main body of the Abnaki to Canada the term "Tarratines" was applied to the Indians occupying the Penobscot River from source to sea, and the contiguous territories.

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Sybayks,¹ the Wawenocks,² the Norridgewocks³ or Canibas, the Anasagunticooks,⁴ the Sokokis or Pequakets,⁵ the Pennacooks,⁶ the Malecites or St.

¹Passamaquoddies. This tribe was a branch of the Abnaki, being also known as Openangos. They were situated on the Schoodic River and on the waters and inlets of Passamaquoddy Bay, Me. The term means "pollock-plenty place."

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²Wawenocks, Waweenocks, or Weweenocks constituted one of the main divisions of the Abnaki, and were said to be the immediate subjects of the great Bashaba, or supreme ruler, who resided in the vicinity of Pemaquid. Their settlement extended from the east of Sagadahoc to St. George River; but after the death of the Bashaba, in 1615, they located on the west side of the Sheepscot River, near the lower falls. They were known as "the ancient regal race."

Ibid.

³Norridgewocks,—a branch of the Abnaki, who dwelt upon the Kennebec River.

Ibid.

⁴Anasagunticooks, or Arosagunticooks. This tribe was a branch of the Abnaki nation, and dwelt about the sources of the Androscoggin River.

Ibid.

⁵Sokokis, or Sockhigones, was the name of a branch of the Abnaki, settled on or about the Saco River, Me.

Ibid.

⁶Pennacooks. These formed part of the great Nipmuck confederacy occupying the banks of the Merrimac River in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, under the valiant and judicious leadership of the great Passaconaway. The Pennacooks resided on the territory now occupied by the city of

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Johns.¹ The Micmacs, or Souriquois,² a tribe com-morant of Nova Scotia, may also be included as of the Abenake. These several tribes had their in-dividual sachems; and as these tribes were divided up into families, or clans, these latter were directed in their affairs by a lesser sachem. As will be noted, the area occupied by the tribes enumerated, while not extending far back from the coast inland, except upon the larger rivers, began in the country about the St. John to the eastward, to terminate southward, north of the Merrimac River.

Concord, N. H., and the jurisdiction of Passaconaway ex-tended at least as far as Chelmsford, Middlesex Co., Mass., in a southerly direction, where the Pawtuckets were estab-lished.

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¹ Malecites, or Marachites (Marechites),— a branch of the Abnaki, occupying the St. John River, New Brunswick. The term is said by Chamberlain to mean “broken-talkers.” They were called “Armouchiquois” by the French mission-aries, and their closest linguistic affinity is with the Passama-quoddy dialect. They are also known as “Maliseets.”

Ibid.

² Micmacs,—“the earliest aborigines of the American con-tinent to come in contact with Europeans.” They constituted a large and influential tribe occupying mainly Nova Scotia, Prince Edward’s Island, Cape Breton, the northern part of New Brunswick, and parts of Newfoundland. The French designated them as “Souriquois,” and their name is sup-posed to signify “our allies.”

Ibid.

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The Abenake people, like other aborigines, were rich in legend and traditions, both of which, perhaps, may be regarded as common to the entire Algonquin family. The Indians of North America, collectively, were known as Algonquins, but those people living far to the eastward were designated as East-landers. To the Indians, west, this country was the land of the rising sun; and while we have the name "Abenake," their appellation is more properly "Wānbānbāghi," or, more literally, "Wānbānbān."¹ They were the original settlers, unless anticipated by the Eskimo, who, crossing this territory from the south, possibly centuries before, drifted further north. Some writers have leaned toward the opinion that the term "Abenake" is of French origin; but with the student of the language of this people there is no question but that this appellation had a distinctive meaning. "Wānbānbān" is indicative of location, the meaning of it being taken as descriptive of the phenomena of the aurora borealis. They evidently found their way eastward in a gradual migration, which began so far back in the history of their people that no possible

¹M. Ventromile assumes *Wanb-naghi* to be the original source of "Abenake," *Wanb* (white) meaning "the breaking of the day," and *naghi*, "ancestors;" or, to translate liberally, "the East-land ancestors." They are evidently a very ancient people, and, according to the author above quoted, comprising a large portion of the Indian family between Virginia and Nova Scotia, probably in entirety.

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calculation could be made as to the time of its beginning. They were a people of slower wit than the Iroquois, or the Indians to the westward, and it is fairly well demonstrated by recent discovery that here in this east land they found an abundance of game. As one follows the coast east to the Sagadahoc River there are indisputable signs that the Indian was something of an epicure; for in the shell-heaps which are so widely scattered along the inlets of the Maine coast have been discovered the remains of fur, fish, and feather, from the Great Auk to the succulent clam, which is in these days a recognized commercial edible.

The earlier Abenake were not an ingenious people. Their tools were of the rudest sort. There is much evidence to show that while they possessed in a slender degree implements of more elaborate finish, it is certain that these came to them from the richer tribes to the westward. Returning to the consideration of the divisions comprising the Abenake, those living along the Penobscot River — who were known as the Tarratines, among whom St. Castin, during the French occupation, had his home — have been regarded as the most numerous, and it is among these people that Ingram locates the Bashaba¹ by whom he was so royally entertained in the sixteenth century. It is evident

¹ We find this in the *Journal of Waymouth's Voyage*, 1605: "June 1. Indians came and traded with us. Pointing to one

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from the relations of the English about the time of Waymouth's voyage to the Sagadahoc (1605) that the ruler of the Abenake of this region was designated as "the Bashaba," who was supposed to have his seat of government in the near vicinity of the Sagadahoc River. This Bashaba was vested with a

part of the main, eastward, they signified to us that the Bashebe, their King, had plenty of furs and much tobacco."

Belknap's *American Biography*, vol. ii., p. 139.

Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iii., viii., p. 140, Strachey mentions the "bassaba."

Maine Hist. Coll., vol. iii., p. 303, as living in the region of the Penobscot River.

Also Captain John Smith and Champlain.

Vide Hubbard, *History of New England*, p. 30.

Champlain's *Voyages*, chap. iii.

Relations des Jesuits, vol. i., chap. iii., p. 8.

None of these annalists had seen the Bashaba or his place of residence, which was supposed to be at Kadesquit, on the Penobscot. From Smith one infers that the Tarratines had their habitat north of the tribes living on the Penobscot. Shea makes "the Abenakis or Tarrateens" synonymous.

Catholic Church in the United States, p. 18.

Kidder locates the country of the Penobscots or Tarratines as on both sides of the Penobscot River, and says their chief, or Bashaba, was said to have been acknowledged as far as Massachusetts Bay.

Abenakis Indians, *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. vi., p. 232.

Kidder, as an authority, seems to be unquestioned. There

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wide power and influence.¹ The Indians as far south as Massachusetts Bay acknowledged him as their ruling head; and it was these people along the Penobscot who, in the wars with the English, came most to be dreaded. In the summer they resorted to the shore, while in the spring and winter they made their habitat near that part of the river (Old-town) where may be found at this day a lingering remnant of the tribe,— a people speaking the same language, cherishing the same traditions, exercising in the main the habits and customs of their ancestors; while their religion is that which has come

seems, however, to be much conflict of opinion among the early writers concerning the Abenake.

Vide Gorge's *Brief Narration*, *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. ii., p. 61.

Jesuit Relations, 1637, chap. xiv., p. 65.

Wood, *New England Prospect*, pt. ii., chap. i.

La Hontan, *Voyages*, vol. i., pp. 223, 230.

Lescarbot, *New France*, vol. iv., chap. xv., p. 534.

Purchas, bk. viii., chap. v., p. 756.

Heylin, *Cosmographie*, lib. 4, pp. 2, 110.

Sullivan, *History of Maine*, vol. i., p. 464.

Hubbard, *History of New England*, p. 30.

For a critical consideration of this subject, *vide* Godfrey, *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. vii., pp. 96–102.

¹The last Bashaba of the Abenake was undoubtedly of the Wawenocks, who once occupied a superior position among the great Abenake families. With their extinction the royal office seems to have ceased, as since the coming of the English it has been more traditional than otherwise.

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down to them from the teachings of the Jesuit missionaries whose coming dates back to the days of Bienville and Port Royal. These people occupied the east-central portion of what is now Maine.

Still further eastward, located in the north-eastern corner of Maine, was the habitat of the Passamaquoddy.¹ They were a considerable people, of whom a remnant may still be found upon a portion of their ancient hunting-grounds, who are no doubt the direct descendants of those who frequented the settlements at St. Croix Island in 1605. They were not prominent, nor are they even named

¹The Passamaquoddy Indians, who may be regarded as a pure remnant of the Abenake, may still be found in Maine, in which State they have three settlements,—one at Pleasant Point, near Perry; one near Calais; and another by the Schoodic Lakes. There is also a settlement of these Indians on the British side of the St. Croix River. There is a remnant on the Penobscot. These two vestiges of an old race are classed by M. Ventromile as Etchemins. He regards the Indians of Acadia and New England as comprised in five nations, which he enumerates as the Mohegans, Sokoquis, Abenakis, Etchemins, and the Micmacs. He is confirmed by La Hontan.

Ralé describes the orderly arrangement of the wigwams in the three Abenake villages with which he had some acquaintance. They were in a way "elegant and convenient." They had some taste in dress, and in that respect they were unlike other of their Algonic neighbors. They were fishermen, hunters, and agriculturalists. There was method in their preparation of the soil for planting, its fertilization and seed-ing. Their manners were suggestive of self-cultivation, and

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in any of the transactions between the French and the English, until after the conquest of Canada. This may have been because of their close relationship with the tribes on either side of them, whose history became their history; yet all of their traditions show that for long generations prior to the coming of the French their habitat had been in the

were marked by many little amenities. They were docile and of pure morals, and notably hospitable. They were loyal to the French, notwithstanding the seductions of the English. The Abenake and the English held conference upon one of the Sagadahoc islands, and the English offered the Abenake whatever they might desire, upon the condition that they would leave their French allies. This reply was made to the English by one of the Abenake orators:

“Great Captain, you say to us not to join ourselves to the French, supposing that you are going to declare war against him. Let it be known to you that the French is my brother, he and I have the same prayer, and we both live in the same wigwam at two fires,—he has one fire, and I the other. If I see you enter the wigwam on the side of the fire where the French, my brother, is seated, I shall observe you from my mat where I am seated, at the other fire. In observing you, if see you have a tomahawk, I will think to myself, ‘What does the English intend to do with that tomahawk?’ I will rise from my mat to see what he intends to do. If he raise the tomahawk to strike the French my brother, I shall take my tomahawk, and I will run to the English and strike him. Can I see my brother be stricken in my own wigwam, and I remain quiet on my own mat? No, no! I love my brother too much, that I should not protect him. I tell you, Great Captain, do nothing against my brother, and I will do nothing against

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neighborhood of lower Schoodic Lake,¹ in the locality of which in these later days numerous relics have been discovered, among which are stone hatchets and other rude implements of an ancient period. They also tell the story of a great fight which took place in the neighborhood, when the Mohawks swept across Canada even as far as the Bay of Fundy; yet, as Kidder suggests, their inland location and their unimportance as a tribe enabled them to maintain a neutral position in the conflicts which took place between their neighbors and the English. It will be recalled, as an incident in Plymouth history, that Allerton established a trading-house at Machias. It was evident that these people were known to the English, and that Machias was the nearest point of contact with them, and it was here they came to trade with the English. It is possible, for this reason, that they were known to the English as the Machias Indians. Their legends have been very fully related by Leland, and are suggestive of much that may be regarded as historical.

Another branch of the Abenake which in the time of the Tarratines had practically disappeared,

you; stay quiet upon your mat and I will stay quiet upon mine."

Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. vi., p. 221.

¹Schoodic (Schoodeag) Lake,— "burnt lands."

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by reason of war and the plague, but who in the time of Captain John Smith were an important people, were the Wawenocks, who lived up and down the Sasanoa. In the region of the Sagadahoc are many islands. These extend far up into the mainland, by reason of the streams which afford navigable communication with the Kennebec from points as far eastward as St. John's Bay and Pemaquid. The most easterly of these streams is at the present time known as the Sheepscot, and it was about the head-waters of this river (Newcastle) that one of the most ancient settlements of Maine existed. It was through these people, who found among these creeks and inlets convenient places of living, that Captain John Smith gained much of his knowledge of the Indians of New England, of whom he has written. From their location they were in closer proximity to the English than other tribes, and they were among the first to feel the restrictions which were brought about through their intercourse with the whites. A treaty was made at Falmouth in 1749; but they had so far lost their identity at that time that, instead of signing for themselves, they became associated with the Anasagunticooks, among whom the remnant of this once great race had made its home.

A short distance to the westward of the Sheepscot River was the Kennebec. It was along this latter stream that the Kennebequi and the Norridge-wocks, who at that time were known collectively as

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the Canibas, had their habitat. Among the headwaters of the Kennebec River were considerable areas of great fertility. These people living so far inland were somewhat isolated from the English, and were in the way of having but slight intercourse with them. To them the Englishman was practically a stranger. They knew little of his ways of living, or his greed. They knew less of his fighting qualities; and in the after-years when, under the French influence, they sent their warriors out to raid the English settlements, they carried on their depredations, feeling themselves safe from punishment once they had returned to their home in the Norridgewock woods. Their subsequent fate is a matter of history, as well as their annihilation; for such as were not killed or captured in the famous Moulton Raid of 1724 had betaken themselves to Canada, where they became a part of the community known as St. Francis de Sales.

West of the Kennebec was another considerable stream, which extends from Casco Bay inland many miles and is known as the Androscoggin River. It was up and down the Androscoggin Valley that the Anasagunticooks had their habitat. Along the banks of this stream were intervalles of exceeding richness; and although this territory had not at that time been encroached upon by the white men, the savages of this part of the Maine wilderness were vindictive in their hatred of him. They were not only first to make war upon him, but they were the last to make

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peace. They were nearer the English settlements than any other of the Abenake, except perhaps that family about the head-waters of the Saco River, and some others scattered along the coast from Scarboro to the Piscataqua River. It was probably this tribe that made the attack on Yarmouth when the English were building their first fort along Royal River. They were in all the fights in which the French and Indians were involved, until, a few years after the obliteration of the Norridgewocks, they followed them into the St. Francis settlement. It is noted by Kidder that at the time of their emigration they numbered possibly one hundred fifty warriors. Granting that, they must have been the only tribe of any importance in Maine at the time of their emigration. In their dialect they were closely allied to the aborigine of the Kennebec, which is preserved by the industrious Sebastian Ralé.¹

¹ Concerning the language of the Abenake much has been written, but not much light has been thrown upon the matter. Ralé's *Dictionary of the Abenake* contains some seventy-five hundred distinct words, accompanied by copious grammatical notes on numbers, moods, tenses, and persons—a collection that gives somewhat of the outline of the (unwritten) Abenake grammar. O'Brien says it lacks only the *article*. It is unfortunate that the burning of the chapel at St. Francis in 1759 was destructive of a large number of works of French students of the Abenake tongue.

O'Brien, *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. ix., pp. 261-294.

In discussing the language of the Abenake, Lincoln (*Re-*

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Still further to the westward was a stream that had its rise among the foot-hills of the White Mountains; and along its length, and about the great lake of the Sokoki (Sebago), the Abenake were dispersed in smaller clans, while they may be regarded as having their tribal home among the Conway meadows. Their villages were located along that stretch of intervalle which reaches from the foot of Mount Kearsarge southward into what is now the town of Fryeburg. The aborigine of this section was known as the Pigwacket, or Pequaket. Still further to the westward were the Ossipees, who are to be taken as a branch of the Sokoki family. These great waterways mentioned as running inland were the highways of the Abenake people, and it was over them that they went to their fishing in their times of peace, or upon their warlike expeditions against the English; and they afforded equal facilities as an avenue of escape once they had wreaked their savage purpose upon their victims. When the English began to make their way into these fastnesses they resented the intrusion only to find their way, as had other tribes, across the Canadian frontier.

marks on the Indian Languages, Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. i., p. 413) follows La Hontan in calling it the Algonquin, which, according to the better Abenake scholar, Ventromile, is an original language. The name "Algonquin" may be regarded as a misnomer in its application to the Abenake if one follows the best authorities, who regard the Algonquin as a lesser and possibly insignificant branch of the aboriginal tree.

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It is about the waters of the Merrimac one locates the Pennacooks. To this tribe has been ascribed the sole possession of the great river, and it is generally accepted that under their sachem were included all of the clans who occupied that territory now New Hampshire. Their principal village was at Amoskeag (Amoskeag Falls), now Manchester. Included in this Abenake family were the Pentuckets, Wambesitts, the Souhegans, and some smaller families, of all which, in the early days of the English settlement, Passaconaway was the great sachem. It is possible that the authority of this sachem extended as far west as the Upper Connecticut, which would include the Cowasacks. The tribes under Passaconaway have been regarded as among the most peaceably disposed of the entire Abenake family. Their sachem was always friendly to the English; and very few, if any, individual outrages committed by them against the English have been recorded as matters of history. They are represented as an amiable people and among the first to relinquish their lands to the English to emigrate to Canada. Very few of the Pennacook branch of the Abenake were to be found in this section after the beginning of the eighteenth century.

While the Passamaquoddies have been mentioned as occupying the northeastern corner of Maine, there remains another branch of the Abenake to be considered, who had their habitat about the

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waters of the St. John River. These were the Amalacite, or Amalecite. These Indians did not seem to be affected disastrously by the wars which went on between the French and the English. The fact that as late as 1828 a considerable contingent, involving some thirty families, went to Canada is not indicative of anything other than a disposition to change, for the reason that the largest portion of this ancient family are still to be found within the boundaries of New Brunswick.

After the coming of the Jesuit among the aborigine, the French having about that time (1622) a settlement on the St. Lawrence, communication between these missionaries and the Récollets of Quebec was not uncommon. It was no doubt through the agency of the French that the Abenake were later supplied with the means of carrying on an aggressive warfare with the English; and such was the spirit of hatred and revenge on the part of the English, who had made this possible, that once the Abenake was dislodged from his vantage-point the English were not satisfied until they had removed from the territory claimed by them under various treaties all its savage dwellers.

While the boundaries of the Abenake occupation of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have been noted, the remnants of that great people were reduced to such extremity that their refugees in the early part of the eighteenth century came to occupy lands set apart for their use on the St. Francis

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River, which has given to them, as a tribe, their name. This settlement was practically destroyed by Major Rogers and his rangers, September, 1759.¹ It has been a matter of remark in the previous volume that the Indian was doomed upon the coming of the white man to his country. They were a simple people, unversed in the wiles of civilization; and while they had not forgotten the treacheries of the earlier voyagers, they were apparently placated by the seeming kindness of those who came later for purposes of colonization. They gave of their

¹The village of St. Francis had been the nucleus of a savage aggregation which had perpetrated so many butcheries on the English that they had become a terror to the New England frontier. In 1759 the opportunity for a reprisal seemed to have offered. Robert Rogers, the Ranger, was at that time attached to the command of Major-General Amherst. September 13 of this year, Amherst ordered Rogers, with two hundred men, to Misisquoi Bay, from whence he was to approach the St. Francis settlement and destroy it. He reached Misisquoi Bay September 23. Then began the march to St. Francis, which he was able to approach without discovery. He was accompanied by one hundred forty-two Rangers. A dance, the evening after the arrival of the Rangers, had wearied the savages into a sound sleep, and it was about an hour before sunrise when Rogers gave the word to advance. The slaughter was swift, merciless, and entire. Those who attempted to escape were shot in their canoes; but the women and children were not molested, which was in accordance with Amherst's orders.

When the day broke the Rangers discovered the ghastly relics of savage raids. Among the different lodges, strung

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lands and of their substance. As the hosts of a strange and outwardly superior guest, they could have done no more.

Of the Abenake, it may be noted that their acquaintance with the English, until the Pemaquid Colony had become something of a trade nucleus (which may have been somewhere about 1616-25), had been confined to the English fishermen who undoubtedly, from that time on, had utilized New Harbor as a place for curing their fish, and who, as well, carried on the fur trade as the occasion offered.

along poles above their entrances, they found six hundred English scalps. These lodges were burned. Only three supply-houses were saved; and with the destruction of St. Francis two hundred of its warriors had been killed. This was a part of the English campaign against Canada. The French had surrendered Quebec just before the excursion against St. Francis.

“The adroitness with which Rogers sometimes extricated himself from extreme peril is illustrated by his conduct on one occasion, when pursued by an overwhelming number of savages up the mountain, near the south end of Lake George, which now bears his name. Upon reaching the summit he advanced to the very verge of the precipice on the east side, which descends 550 feet to the lake. Having here reversed his snow shoes he fled down the side opposite to that by which he had come up. Arriving soon after, the Indians, upon seeing the tracks of two men, apparently, instead of one, and Rogers far below upon the ice, hastening towards Fort Edward, concluded that he had slid down the precipice aided by the Great Spirit, and that farther pursuit was vain.”

Walker, *Robert Rogers, the Ranger*.

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La Hontan speaks of this race as having "fixed habitations." Ventromile regards them as "an original people." He describes them as having a docile manner and as living in more elaborately constructed shelters than the races to the southward. That was a climatic necessity. Gregarious in their habit, their garb was more substantial, and they had some considerable art instinct. They were a notably moral people, and they were peculiarly susceptible to the dogmas of the Jesuits. Their love for their offspring was great; and once the male child could walk, it was taught the rudiments of archery, and as the years came to the Indian lad, the mysteries of the chase. Hospitable, they were not less brave, and capable of great fortitude. They were lithe and willowy, with muscles well knit and built up into a symmetrical physique. They were quick to resent a slight or insult, real or fancied; and while ferocious in their treatment of an enemy, they were not so cruel as their more southern neighbors. The torturing of a victim at the stake was not a common occurrence with them. If their butcheries of the English are to be taken as an indication of an inherent savagery, it is no less to be regarded as a legitimate incident, having reference to the manner in which they were accustomed to carry on their warfare. Their weapons were crude, and, with the exception of the arrow, were effective only in their application; nor is war to be considered even in these later days other than as a relic of a

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barbarous age. There is no question but the Jesuit was the bond of loyalty of the savage to the French, and had the English been able to attach the aborigine to their interest they would, as well, have used him against the French without hesitation.

The French writers upon the early occupation of Acadia accord to the Abenake some proficiency in being able to express themselves by picture-writing. The common medium of this expression was the bark of the birch, and not infrequently the flat surfaces of stones. For a rude pencil or graver's tool, a charred coal, flint, or an arrow-head was used. The birch-tree was the paper-maker of the Abenake, and upon its rind were inscribed their messages to neighboring tribes. They made their fastest runner their messenger, and answers were returned upon the same material. They were not without their object-records, which consisted of bits of bark and stone, and their powwows or medicine-men were possessed of scrolls of the bark of the birch, upon which many singular and uncouth tracings were wrought, which they were accustomed to read to such as were stricken with illness. The Micmacs were adepts in picture-painting. It was a sign-vocabulary which the Jesuits improved upon and expanded, and one finds some of them reproduced in the writings of the Jesuit Ralé.¹

¹ Lescarbot, writing of the Armouchiquois, a French appellation given the Abenake of eastern Maine, says these savages

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If these people of the Maine wilderness were anything, they were mystical. Living within the shadows of great forests, their keen observance became a matter of instinct. The wrinkle in a fallen leaf, a broken twig, a crushed blade of grass, betrayed the passing of the stranger. They possessed the scent of the wild. Their touch was as subtly sensitive as the breath of the frost, and the rinds of the trees told to them the points of the compass as oft as did the stars. The sharpened spires of the primeval forest marked their time along the face of the sky, and they counted the flying hours by night as well

practised the arts of painting and sculpture and "made images of beasts, birds, and men, on stone and wood as handsomely as good workmen in France."

Lincoln, *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. i., p. 420.

M. Ventromile says the Abenake "had a regular method of writing in the same manner as the Chinese, Japanese and other Asiatic nations, although with different characters." Ventromile mentions the possession of two books in Abenake written by an Abenake Indian, and he says they read from left to right. This author's description is so singular and withal so curious that it is here quoted. M. Ventromile says: "When the French first arrived in Acadia, the Indians were used to write and read on barks, trees, and stones, engraved with signs made with arrows, sharp stones, or other instruments. They were used to send pieces of bark, marked with those signs to other Indians of other tribes, and to receive back answers written in the same manner, just as we do with letters and notes. Their chiefs were used to send circulars, made in the same manner, to all their men in time of war to

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as by day. Their months were distinguished by the moon, and were, as well, named by its phases. It was also their weather clerk. To them it was a luminous prophet of drought or wet, as of heat or cold.

The Abenake squaw was an expert herbalist, who knew the gifts of healing that lay hidden in the rinds of the trees and in the roots of the weeds. They translated the sounds to which the wild creatures of the woods gave utterance. Many of these animals they held in reverence, of which they made rude drawings to adopt them as the totems of the tribe or individual, and into their mystic rites

ask their advice and to give directions. Several Indians possessed in their wigwams a kind of library composed of stones and pieces of bark, and the medicine-men had large manuscripts of these peculiar characters, which they read over the sick persons. Inscriptions of this kind were made by Indians on standing trees, in the woods, to inform others about some extraordinary event. The Indians assert that by these signs they could express any idea with every modification, just as we do with our writings. When the French missionaries arrived in that country, (they generally refer to Fathers Maijard and Le Loudre), they made use of these signs, as they found them, in order to instruct the Indians. They improved them, and others were added in order to express the doctrine and mysteries of the Christian religion.

“This kind of writing does not exist, nor do we know that it has existed amongst other nations of the Algonquin family.”

Rev. Eugene Ventromile, in *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. vi., pp. 208-227.

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and ceremonies was wrought much of animal tradition. From this one may assume that the literature of the savage was nature in the original, no phase of whose phenomena was allowed to pass unnoticed or untranslated. Being a creature infected with the crudest superstition, he was likewise a creature of circumstances.

The Indian, according to Parkman, was "especially mutable to change."¹ It was as much a struggle for existence among the Indians of North America as it has ever been among more modern nations — always the same struggle for place, power, and advantage. Tribes came and went; rose or fell as their prowess waxed or waned; and it is possible that the land of the Abenake was the last of the great areas of the Western Continent to be occupied by these nomads of the forest. Compared with the tribes to the west and south, they were not only slower in their intellectual activities, but they were weaker in their combativeness; and yet here, as elsewhere within the illimitable wilderness to which they made claim by birthright, the strong preyed upon the weak, as is evidenced by

¹The Abenake were not inclined toward nomadic life. They lived in villages convenient to some stream which afforded them thoroughfare and a sufficient supply of fish in season, and the same corn-fields were cropped year after year. When not on the chase they showed their gregarious disposition, especially in the cooler portions of the year, by forming tribal communities, which comprised many lodges.

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the frequent forays of the Tarratines against the Nipmucks to the south, whose country was just across the Abenake border. They were wont to prey on the maize-fields of the Massachusetts; for they finally killed the sachem of that scattered tribe just before the inception of the Plymouth Colony — an aggression which they followed up after the coming of the Cape Ann planters by a descent on the Agawams, in which the abduction of the sachem's squaw was successfully accomplished.¹

No great space of time was needed to bring about notable changes in tribal location. Parkman and

¹ On the eighth of August, 1631, says Drake, in his *Indian Chronicles*, p. 25: "About one hundred Tarratines attacked the Indians at Agawam, since Ipswich, killed seven men and carried away seven captives. They also rifled a cabin established of some of Matthew Cradock's men who were employed in taking sturgeon, carrying off their nets and supplies."

They also carried away at this time the wife of the Agawam sachem as a captive to Pemaquid. She was returned to her husband through the mediation of Abram Shurt, the Pemaquid factor.

Sylvester, *Maine Pioneer Settlements*, vol. iv., p. 213.

Winthrop, vol. i., pp. 71, 73.

Hubbard, p. 145.

Johnson, *2 Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. iii., p. 126.

Lewis's *Lynn*.

The incident in which the astuteness of John Perkins prevented the landing of another band of marauding Tarratines, as related by Cobbett, at this same place, occurred the following spring.

Vide note to pp. 172, 173, vol. i., of this work.

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7
other writers note this as a natural condition; for, according to Cartier, he found on his voyages up the St. Lawrence, in 1534-35, populous communities which with the coming of Champlain were non-existent (1603-04), or for which had been substituted a people of widely variant language and customs.¹ These Indian races had no histories; else, in the singular vicissitudes in which the cycles of their power were perfected, one might have had a story not unlike the barbaric splendors that have marked the apex of one Old World power and another, which in turn gave way to other forces born of the ceaseless expansion of races than which no Draconian edict was ever more immutable. The ultimate fortune of every Indian race was extermination. No matter how ferocious or how preponderant in war one tribe might be over another, there was always the cloud in the west no larger than the hand of a man, across which was writ the prophecy of inevitable annihilation to the conqueror of yesterday. It was the law of savagery, and, as such, it was the chasing of one great wave by a greater.

It was a vast tract of country that extended from the eastern shores of Nova Scotia to the frontier of the Hurons, and lower down the Hudson to that of the Mohawks, whose southerly line of latitude was drawn from the coast at the mouth of the Merrimac River still westward, across the mountains of New

¹*Acadiensis*, vol. iv., p. 280.

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Hampshire and Vermont, to the lake which later bore the name of Champlain, and which stretched far to the north, even beyond the present Canadian frontier. It is true that only the coast-line nominally of this vast territory was occupied by the Abenake. The clans furthest inland were the Pig-wackets and the Norridgewocks, while the other clans, some six or seven in number, were nearer the sea. The larger and lonelier areas of Vermont and New Hampshire were utilized as hunting-grounds, while along the rich intervalles and the fertile levels around the mouths of the five great Abenake rivers the aborigine followed the pursuits of agriculture and fishing. The Abenake along the shores of what is now Cape Elizabeth, and southward, were the truck-gardeners of this race. They were all maize-planters; but it was between the Scarborough marshes and those of Hampton that Captain John Smith makes note of the raising of a variety of crops as something which to him was significant of the locality. These Abenake raised corn, pumpkins, and beans, all of which they used as food; and while they killed the deer for their venison, it is not to be doubted but they had equally expert methods of curing fish. They were like all modern great gourmands; and, while they at times suffered for the simplest food, it was not so much because it was not plenty as because before their inordinate appetites plenty became a precarious scarcity. In this respect the various tribal mem-

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bers of the great Algonquin family did not much vary in their dispositions or tendencies.¹

While they (the North American Indians) may be said to belong to one great racial integer, they were many tribes, each speaking a different language and dialect, but all allied in their nomad habit, their customs, their superstitions and religion. Before the epidemic of 1616 the aborigine of New England was numerically the most important; and it was those tribes between the New Brunswick wilderness and the country of the Narragansetts about Narragansett Bay that in some instances were almost utterly blotted out. Of all those affected, the Abenake were undoubtedly the most unimportant, not only by reason of their locality, but, as well, by their racial disability along lines of mental activity. They have always been noted for their fair physique, and among the Algonquin stock their standing was comparable; yet they owed more

¹The improvidence of the savage was proverbial. After the coming of the English he became more improvident than ever. He easily fell a prey to the vice of intemperance, and the evils that followed in its train. His disposition underwent a notable change, in which all the brutal characteristics of his untutored and barbarous instincts became the dominant influence of his existence. From a source of revenue to the English trade, he became a beggar for food and rum. Impoverished of his lands, and curtailed in his means of subsistence, he became a menace — to develop, as the purposes of the English toward his race became more apparent, into an avowed butcher and incendiary.

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to nature's bounty than to anything of their own inventions or manufacture. Their tools were of the rudest sort, ruder by far than those of any other of their Algonquin cousins; and if they were spared the sharper miseries of those as favorably situated, it was not owing to any thrift of theirs, but rather the gift of the sea.

Smith noted the clustered wigwams and the maize-fields of the Abenake; but when the plague came upon them these evidences of tribal prosperity were practically obliterate. How many years earlier the Iroquois had driven them eastward no one can even guess; yet, even among the dominant tribes of the lake regions, changes had begun even at the heels of their pursuers. Farther west the process was a decimating one. In the north, and especially, as has been already noted, in the upper areas of Vermont and New Hampshire, the forest silences echoed only to the lone cry of the wild beast. As one writer says, "They had no tenants but the roving hunter or the prowling warrior."

There was more of a warlike spirit among the northerly situated Abenake than of the same family south and west of the Saco. Why that should be is not to be explained, yet it was true. The former were hunters, while the latter were, in their rude manner, tillers of the soil. They were not averse to hunting the moose and the bear, but they liked the song of the maize-leaves when the hot June nights whispered of the coming harvest and the early

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frosts lent their alchemy to the beans and pumpkins to paint them with the yellow of the harvest moon.

East of the Penobscot was the Etchemin family.¹ They were less thrifty than the Tarratines. They were fish-eaters. The seal was a common food.

And still on, by the Nova Scotia coast, the Micmacs, or Souriquois, were not unlike the savages of New Brunswick. Evidently the land the Abenake knew best was that within the sound of the tides of the sea. As for the Micmacs, they were the most northeasterly of the Abenake family, whose habitat stretched along the shore from Bay Chaleur to Cape Breton. In this they differed from the Malicites, or Maliseets, whose principal settlements were at Kingsclear and Meductek; while a small band hovered about Passamaquoddy Bay, out of which people sprung the Passamaquoddy tribe. These tribes (the Micmacs and the Maliseets) differed in their dialect, so that they were not unlike two foreign nations. They were different in their customs and habits; and while both tribes were

¹ Etchemin. This tribe is now considered to have been a sub-group of the Abnaki confederacy, speaking the same language, but a different dialect, and to have included the Passamaquoddy and Malecite. They are said to have extended from the Penobscot to the St. Croix River as far as St. John. Later they resided in the neighborhood of Passamaquoddy River. The meaning of the term has been interpreted as "Canoe-men."

Dictionary of American Indian Names.

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fond of the chase, they were, after a limited fashion, tillers of the soil. The Maliseets were peaceful in their inclinations; but when cornered, like the Micmacs, they were good fighters, as the marauding Mohawks had more than once discovered, to their cost. Of these northeastern tribes the Micmacs seem to have been more quarrelsome. They were somewhat isolate in their relations to their neighbors, and less cohesive than the Maliseets, who were of the Wapanaki confederacy, which controlled the country to the westward as far as the Connecticut River. The latter are supposed to have been formerly of the Penobscots, who, sloughing off from the parent tribe, had taken a trend toward the Micmac country; and where they found the Micmacs then they are to be found to-day, except that some time before the advent of the Royalists they had a habitat in near proximity to the mouth of the St. John River.

In those days game was abundant, and the Micmac hunting-lands were ample. The Maliseets were allowed by them to settle along the St. John River. Their journey from the Penobscot ended at Meductek Rapids, and here they remained until the Iroquois raided their territory, after which they made a settlement at Kingsclear, which they fortified with high posts driven into the ground, which were bound closely together with withes. Within were their wigwams, which did not vary from the typical Abenake shelter, being somewhat conical

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in shape and framed of poles which were covered in with the bark of the birch. At the top was an opening through which the smoke escaped, which, as well, afforded some ventilation. The council-house was outside, and here, again, the architecture of the Penobscot was followed. It was an oblong affair of fairly ample proportion, where not only their deliberations were held, but, as well, where their festivals were celebrated. This reminds one of the description of St. Castin's lodge at St. Famille, except that the latter was more in accordance with that civilization with which St. Castin had been familiar.

In Champlain's time, as contemporary writers have recorded, these New Brunswick tribes were more advanced in governmental matters than their brethren to the southward. Six councillors, who were named by the sachem and confirmed by the warriors of the tribe, represented the will of the community. The Maliseets called the president of the body the sachem; but his power was nominal. He was the commander-in-chief of the war forces, while the immediate command was given to another. It was, for a savage people, a unique democracy. With the Maliseets, as with other Abenake families, any warrior might announce his intention of organizing a party for the war-path; and if he were able to attach to himself a sufficient following, notwithstanding he was opposed by a majority of his tribe, if at his council-fire were

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gathered a sufficient number to carry out his purpose he set out on his foray, no matter what the result might be to those left behind. There was no organized body of fighting-men; only those accompanied their chiefs on their hostile excursions who voluntarily consented to do so, and these might be regarded as such.

The position of sachem was for life. He was elected by the men of his tribe. At his death another election was held, and his successor was chosen with due deliberation. Among the Maliseets was an official whose relation to his sachem was that of an aide-de-camp. He was the *me-a-wet*, the official messenger who summoned the warriors of the different settlements to attend upon the sachem, no matter what the exigency, whether of war or peace. While the office of sachem was not hereditary, yet the distinction usually descended to the son if he were capable. The inauguration was a round of festivities, which lasted several days, at which guests from neighboring tribes were entertained with great decorum and lavish hospitality.¹

Their religion was one swathed in legend and traditions. They believed in disembodied spirits;

¹“There is a tradition that on one occasion when game had been very abundant and fish was plenty the inaugural ceremonies of a Penobscot Sakum extended over three weeks. Every night there was dancing and feasting, the mornings were given over to sleep and recuperation and the afternoons were spent by the young men in various games and by the

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that they exercised a controlling power over human affairs; and they besought them for wisdom and guidance in time of uncertainty; for safety when danger threatened; and for their interference to ward off evil. They said their prayers with their faces to the sunrise; and there is a legend handed down that would indicate that the worship of the sun was at some time in their previous history a conscientious observance.¹ Although it smacks of rank paganism, there was a more general custom of presenting their newly born children to the Sun-god. When the mother was well enough to leave her wigwam she wrapped the babe in a robe of fine fur, after which she carried it quietly in her arms

older men in telling stories of the far-off long-ago, to which all Indians turn with veneration."

Acadiensis, vol. iv., p. 284.

¹"Once during each moon on the morning of the evening the new moon first appeared, the people gathered on the village green a short time before the sun rose and kindled a fire. As the rim of the sun appeared above the horizon, the worshippers began a solemn chant and danced around the fire in slow time, and as they danced they threw into the fire something as a sacrifice — an article of apparel or ornament or implement. When the sun was in full view, all knelt facing the east and offered a short, silent prayer to the Sun God. Then they arose reverently and walked to their wigwams with solemn faces and bowed heads. This ceremony is said to have been copied from the western Indians and only a few of the Wapanaki took part in it."

Ibid, p. 284.

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to some rise of ground which commanded a view of the horizon to the eastward, and, as the sun broke the rim of the furthest wooded hills, or the low-level of the sea, she removed the wraps, extending the child upon her uplifted arms toward the new brilliance of the perfect dawn, supplicating the God of Day with a crooning gentleness that it would take the child under its beneficent protection, to give it ruddy health and strength and happiness, and that it appoint one kindly spirit to be the child's ruling influence for good and for a prosperous career.

They kept a Thanksgiving festival. It was their Green-Corn Dance. The festival was opened by the sachem, who made a propitiatory address to the Corn Spirit, replete with thanks. This semi-religious ceremony began with the gathering of the tribe in the open space among the village wigwams, where a fire was built under the supervision of the war-chief. After the sachem had thanked the Corn Spirit the fire was kindled, and upon it was placed a dish of green corn. While it was roasting, the war-chief engaged in a rude dance about the blaze, chanting in slow, weird rhythm the music of this particular feast. When the corn was roasted it was partaken of by all present, while the after-dinner speakers of the tribe made speeches. Once the corn was eaten the tribe joined in a rude cotillion, which they designated "the Green-Corn Dance."

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As to the Great Spirit, which has been by some writers ascribed to the Indians as a tutelary deity, no doubt may reasonably exist as to how much of importance is to be attached to the assumption from the Abenake point of view. That they were susceptible to religious forms and ceremonies is not to be questioned, having in mind the apparent readiness with which they became converts, outwardly at least, under the teachings of the Jesuits. It is, however, to be surmised that until their intercourse with the white man their ideas of the supreme intelligence, the Great Spirit,¹ were some-

¹ Curious traditions are yet extant, once common to Algonquins of eastern New England and Canada about the Lower St. Lawrence, of the Creation, the crowning labor of a mythic Great Spirit, whose name was Manabozho, Messou, or the Great Hare. One of these is preserved by Perrot. Le Jeune (*Relation*, 1633, p. 16) relates the same tradition, with varying imagery.

When the deep waters covered all the earth, Manabozho found himself afloat on a raft. With him were a numerous retinue of the creature world who acknowledged his master-ship. They floated through the great void of a watery chaos in which no land existed. Determined to create a world which should supply the necessities of his people, wearying of the unstable foundation upon which their safety depended, the Great Hare directed the beaver to search the deeps of the surrounding waters for a mouthful of mud. The beaver after a long time was discovered floating on the water, senseless. Then the otter made a dive, but failed to find any mud. Then the muskrat essayed the task. For a day and a night he was lost from sight before he reappeared exhausted unto death.

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what hazy. Some writers have suggested that the savage had no belief in *one* supreme ruler of the universe, and that the idea was borrowed by them of the white man, which is not wholly unreasonable. A great deal of romance has been written of the Indian, but it remains to be discovered that they ever had any approach to what might be fairly considered as a religious faith. The Abenake people abounded in traditions, and it is a singular fact that it is among the Passamaquoddies one goes to find them. If one is curious about these legends he will find much that is curious and interesting of

He was floating upon his back beside the raft. He was rescued, and firmly gripped in one of his paws was a single grain of sand, from which Manabozho made the great world (Perrot, *Mémoire*, chap. i.).

Undoubtedly, it is by this tradition the muskrat holds so important a place in the Algonquin cosmogony.

Le Jeune has it in his *Relation*, 1634, p. 13, that Manabozho gave to the Indian the virtue of immortality, which he had securely tied in a bundle, upon the condition that he should keep it intact and unopened. Impelled by an ungovernable curiosity, the squaw of the recipient one day severed the string, and the priceless gift, released from its bondage, disappeared; since which time the Indian race has been condemned to suffer the ills of mortality.

As to the belief of the Indian in a Manitou, see Biard, *Relation*, 1633, chap. viii. Ragueneau (*Relation des Hurons*, 1648, p. 77) says, "The people of these countries have received from their ancestors no knowledge of a God." Devoid of all spiritual discernment, the Indian's acknowledgment of a supreme being was the expression of a barbaric superstition

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that sort of lore in Mr. Leland's *Algonquin Legends*. As for religious ceremonies, they were mostly festivals, many of which were held at stated times and varied in their character, as they were celebrated by dances, lavish feasts, or propitiatory or thank-offerings. It is likewise evident from these observances that they were more solicitous over present good or ill fortune than they were about what would happen to them after they had done with this world.

Their mode of burial was suggestive of their ideas of future life. The Happy Hunting-grounds were not far away, and the dead warrior, wrapped possibly in a shroud of birch-bark, was so placed that he might greet the sunrise of the next dawn; across his knees were his bow and arrow; about his neck, his bag of parched corn. They were no less stoics in death than in life. They greeted the last moment with the same calmness and outwardly serene composure that they observed in disposing of the ordinary affairs of life. To them the grave was the entrance to a fairer country,

founded in the mythology of his race, which like the Glooscap of the Wabanaki was the inspiration of his unwritten literature, the legends and folk-lore of undiscoverable origin, which are not unsuggestive of the Mongoloid races of the Old World.

None of the Jesuits who wrought among the Indians credit them with a belief in a supreme spirit. Perrot ignores the idea.

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where none of the physical miseries of life could assail them. Their belief, as well, that they would be met by their friends who had gone on before lent a peculiarly attractive symmetry to this phase of their rude faith.

The Indians, in their way, were inveterate storytellers. They were inventive in the matter of folktales, which were almost without number—and varied, as well, with every telling. Their schooling was that of the woods; and while it was limited to the phenomena of nature, their thought was of fairly wide scope, and their imagination almost Oriental in its fertility.

What singular fables hover about the Abenake hero, Glooscap!¹ It is claimed this legendary character had his origin among the Micmacs. If Glooscap was the traditional hero, Kinapuik was the legendary Esculapius.² He was the good spirit

¹ Leland's *Algonquin Legends*.

² "Long time ago a great sickness fell upon the tribe and many people died. They died so fast that those who were left could not make graves quickly enough and many were put in one large hole. At last there appeared to one of the men in a dream a strange being as of a man covered with joints of brass. 'I am, said he, *Ke-wis-wask* [sweet flag] and can make you well. Dig me up and steep me in water and drink me and I will cure you.' After saying this, he disappeared. The next day the man did as he was told. He dug up the flag root and steeped it and gave the water to the Indians and after drinking it, they soon recovered."

Acadiensis, vol. iv., p. 288.

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of the Wapanaki medicine-men, who revealed to them the healing virtues of the roots of the wild herbs, and the bark of the trees. Yet the savage medicine-man has been given undue prominence; for, as a matter of fact, his arts were more those of empiricism. It was the old women of the Abenake tribes, rather than the powwow-man, who waited on the sick. These Indian women were versed in the simples that grew unnoticed, perhaps in the shadow of the sick warrior's wigwam; but she kept her secret until too old to practise her art, when she revealed it to some favorite of her acquaintance, whom she had selected as her successor. When these remedies were unavailing the patient was given over to Kinap, the spirit-conjurer, and it was in these last moments that the noisy incantations of the powwow, or Kinap, were called in to hasten the crisis.¹

As to their morals, those especially of the young

¹“The old women's remedies were not always successful, and when the disease would not yield under their administration, the disturbed condition of the patient was attributed to the operation of an evil spirit and the case was handed over to the *Kinap*, who proceeded to drive out the demon by incantations and conjurings. To prepare for the ceremony and by way of purification, that functionary submitted his person to a steam bath which was produced by pouring cold water over hot stones placed in a small and tightly closed wigwam built expressly for that purpose. The patient was then subjected to a similar bath, and while the steam was ascending the

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were carefully guarded.¹ The polygamous practices that prevailed south and west of New Hampshire did not obtain among the Abenake. They were a colder race, and therefore more unimpressible. This, however, was of little avail among the Montagnais maidens, who became under the Old Régime the devoted mothers of a race of half-breeds.

These Abenake were not much different from the great family of which they were an integral part. To the English they were all savages; but they were not even semi-nomadic, as were those of more equable climates. They were loyal to their tradi-

Kinap sang a weird chant and performed mystic rites. If this ceremony did not move the demon to depart, the victim was left to perish."

Acadiensis, vol. iv., p. 289.

¹"In their primitive life the children were carefully trained during the first years by their mothers and then by their grandmothers. The associations of the young maidens and the younger men were carefully guarded, and girls in the Maliseet tribe were not permitted to marry until they were twenty-four years of age. Generally the mother selected the girl who was to be her son's wife. But sometimes a young fellow would be attracted by a girl's appearance and try to see something of her, taking such means as he could command to make a pleasant impression upon her. Yet he made no direct appeal to her, but took his mother into his confidence and if she approved, she opened negotiations to win the consent of the girl's family.

"The youth gave to his mother as many strings of wampum

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tions, to their families, and to their rights of occupancy of the country which gave them their livelihood, and it was for these qualities the English condemned them to annihilation. It was the English, too, who taught them the more subtle arts of duplicity and treachery; and when, at last, their pupils came to their English schoolmasters with a perfect lesson they found the rod of punishment was to be their reward.

Those who have known the Indian best have given to him the full meed of their sympathy. The Abenake were chivalrous toward their wives; con-

as his wealth in beaver skins would supply. If not able to secure a suitable quantity through his own efforts, he begged them from his father or from a friend. The mother took the wampum to a *Kinap* and enlisted his interest in her son's behalf. The intercessor on going to the father's wigwam told him he had come as messenger from the Great Spirit to intercede for the youth who desired his daughter for wife. He made the best possible presentation of the young fellow's good qualities, his bravery, his skill as a hunter, his kindness and his generosity. He told also of his ability to keep the promise he would make to support his wife and to make her life happy. After doing his best for his client, the old man withdrew, leaving the present with the father. If the girl was of suitable age, the father at once called together all her kindred and announced the offer in her presence, asking for an expression of opinion regarding the suitor. These opinions were expressed with considerable freedom, and if the youth had any faults they were sure to be exposed. If the family decided the suitor was eligible, the girl accepted their decision, and the father, or if he were dead, the oldest member

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siderate of their children; fond of their families; kind to strangers; loyal to their friends; and generous. They were sternly featured, but it was the visage of inward contemplation. They were dignified, but only as it reflected their high standard of honor; for such they possessed to an enviable degree. If their spiritual light was obscured by ages of rude environment, they were none the less a people whose integrity stood unimpeached until the white man had smirched it with the slime of his commercialism, by which their riches of furs were coaxed from them by a few gewgaws and

of the family, went to the intercessor and said, 'We accept the wampum!' But if the decision was against the suitor, the beads were returned without any message.

"Being accepted the youth usually visited the girl at her home and asked her to set the wedding day. On the day appointed, the groom elect accompanied by his immediate family went to the bride's home where friends were gathered. The bride was given to her husband by her father and was then clothed in a new and handsome costume, a present from the groom. The pair then went to the village green where the wedding dance was performed in the presence of the whole village and was part of the marriage ceremony. On the following day the newly-wedded pair usually departed for a honeymoon trip by canoes and at some chosen spot would kneel together before a rock and pronounce their vows to be true to each other and to be kind and helpful, asking the rock to bear witness to their vows. A rock was chosen rather than a tree because of the chance that the tree might be destroyed while the rock would endure."

Acadiensis, vol. iv., pp. 290-292.

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trinkets, of which they came later to know the worthlessness. Until the English came it is not for a moment to be doubted but that they were a people not only of probity among themselves, but, as well, outside the bounds of their savagery, a people who under the right influence might have developed into a mighty race. Such was the possibility at least, if not a probability. It is a question if, in enlightened to-day, the successor to his patrimony can boast the simple virtues of the Abenake.

While the easternmost of the Wapanaki has been drawn upon as a type of the sub-tribes which made their home among the wildernesses of New Hampshire, Maine, and portions of New Brunswick, it is because it is among them, as the representatives of the great family of which they were an integer, one finds the most complete record of their habits, customs, and living. Champlain is the source of most of the information of the Abenake of those early days of French adventures. He was a careful observer and a faithful and unbiased relater of those matters which came within the scope of his experience with the aborigine of Acadia and New England. Unlike the Mathers, Cottons, and Hubbards, and such-like distorts,—professedly of the wider faith of the humble Nazarene, but actually a hybrid cult whose spiritual pedigree was to be traced *down* rather than up; who showered anathemas with unstinting lavishness upon the red man, whose only fault was his existence, whose lands and

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hospitalities they had preëmpted without license, and whose spiritual preferment they held as lightly as the grit under their heels,— Champlain felt the attraction of their apparent helplessness against a superior civilization; and while he ever showed to them the human side to his character, he never for a moment undervalued their friendship and co-operation. And it was for this that the English blamed the French: that they had treated the Indians as human beings and accepted them as their coadjutors and allies in the wars that followed the second coming of Frontenac. To the student of the Abenake it is not for a moment to be doubted that whatever befell the English between the period of their coming to New England and the practical annihilation of this people by a vicious and murderous intercourse on the part of the white man was a natural and inevitable result. If the English demanded an eye for an eye, the Indian came to be no less exacting; and that he became an expert in retaliation was the legitimate product of a conduct no less barbarous than that which the English charged up to the aborigine as a racial precedent.

If one cares to go more deeply into the far history of the tribe that anciently roamed the country already bounded as the land of the Abenake, one should shoulder his pickaxe and shovel to betake himself to the shell-heaps that abound in the Sagadahoc country. Here is a story written in a series of foot-notes which affords unlimited scope to the

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antiquarian. Here is abundant verification, the intimately legible narration of a daily living that goes back perhaps to the days of the Cæsars. It is as modern, as human, as the crumb-besprent table-cloth of the housewife of to-day. It goes back to the days of auk stews (a bird that was extinct before the voyages of Verrazano hither), to reveal life as it may have been on these shores when the Norse found their way into the Narragansett waters. It is evident that from Damariscotta eastward, alongshore, here was the great summer resort of the earlier Abenake. Here, as well, is written the story of their slender resources. Evidently they came hither from the westward, either as adventurers, by force of circumstances, or war. Possibly they lived inland about the larger lakes, or along the headwaters of the considerable rivers with which they had become familiar during the earlier months, and when the snow had disappeared they made their way to the seacoast, where they set up their wigwams, which may have stretched in considerable settlements from Harpswell to the eastward. One is able to locate their habitats by the stones from which they fashioned their tools; nor were these all of stone, for out of the bones of the animals and birds which were served up at their feasts they fashioned others. It is possible that these first comers became obliterate; for these beginnings of shell-heaps show an interregnum of non-accumulation, but for how long a period is uncertain. The

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sea made new inroads upon the shore, and the solid lands were cut up, seamed, and separated into islands, and the more ancient Abenake remains were in part washed away. Then another people came and began to kill the game common to the locality, and to dig bivalves, and to heap up the refuse shells until they formed the huge heaps one finds in these days scattered alongshore and among the islands that swim above the tides of the old Sassanoa and the Sagadahoc. These heaps are found as far east as Frenchman's Bay, and they are in many instances covered with the mold of centuries, and even forest-grown.

One singular thing: in all the relics that have been unearthed of this ancient people no metal tools have been found. Remnants of a crude art in the making of pottery have been found, which suggests the hand of the more expert Algonquin; and, as well, bones, which, not unlike those of the wolf, suggest the Indian dog. While it is well known that the coyote was susceptible to domestication, the wolf has not been regarded as a tamable animal.

In these shell-heaps are the remains of flints, but not of the sort found in New England. They come from the interior west, possibly. In these flints one reads the story of a certain antiquity, and it is suggestive of the summering here of some of the middle-west tribes.

Moosehead Lake is rich in these ancient records; and it is doubtless in this locality, as has before been

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suggested, the aborigine made through the long centuries his winter habitat. The more reasonable interpretation of these shell-heaps is that they are the accumulations of long years of aboriginal occupancy. On Sawyer's Island one finds a shell-heap of enormous proportions. It covers an area of nearly two acres and varies in depth, in some places measuring nearly the height of a tall man; and, what is singular about this particular heap, Prof. Frederick B. Loomis notes that in formative layers there is a marked variance,— one may be of clam-shells, another of the shells of the snail, and another of sea-urchins, as if there had been periods where only one variety of shell-food was obtainable. He estimates the number of shell-heaps along this part of the Maine coast as numbering some one thousand, which is suggestive of the immense aboriginal population once supported among these evidences of a crude livelihood. It is no less evident that before they became fishermen they were hunters; for as one continues his excavations, at the bottom of some of these deposits is found a layer of ashes where burned the fires upon which they broiled or seethed their meats, among which, as well, are to be found the calcareous remains of the animals they consumed, mostly deer. As Professor Loomis says, it would take many years to cover this area on Sawyer's Island with a layer of pure ashes two inches deep. These ashes may be the débris of a great forest fire. He found the remains of a

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human skeleton here; but as the bones showed no tooth-marks, he does not accept it as a suggestion of cannibalism. He remarks that all the bones, except those he designates as belonging to a wolfdog and those of the human skeleton, were split, as if the marrow had been regarded as a toothsome delicacy.

This country around Boothbay is traditional. Here on one of the islands was a great Indian burial-place. Perhaps Samoset may have been buried on Indian-town Island, as well.¹ About Sabino was evidently where the Indians shaped

¹No character of aboriginal New England can be likened to that of Samoset. Like a mountain-peak outlined against the dawn, he stands the one great exponent of the Abenake race before it had been corrupted by the vices of the English and the French pioneer. His memory is the sweet breath of the woods, the songs of the birds, and all the harmonies in nature. His currents of manhood ran deep, and all his instincts were of gentleness and peace. He was as God made him, a high priest of nature; and one forgets that he was a savage, so predominant was his native nobility as a man and a friend.

Samoset was the William Penn of his untutored race, the solicitous friend of the first English who came into the waters about Pemaquid, and no adverse circumstance could sway his loyalty. He was as steadfast in this peculiar virtue as the headland of old Sabino that marked the southern boundary of his domain before he parted with it to Brown.

One would like to know just where his clustered wigwams lent the incense of their fires to the winds. As one writer says, he was first to welcome the English settler in his mother tongue and the first to part with his hunting-lands, volun-

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many of their implements. Much has been found in the way of relics and tools partly finished or

tarily. It was a significant act, and pregnant with ominous prophecy to the aborigine. Among his people he stands alone. Among the traditions of the red man he seems more a mythical personage than a real.

Bradford notes that the afternoon of Samoset's first appearance at Plymouth was spent in conversation. One would have enjoyed being of that famous company. Whether poet or painter essayed the scene, it was a subject for an idyllic treatment. It was a prophetic episode of the highest historic quality, with no setting of palatial seat of government, but, instead, the crudities of a rude shelter whose interior was as barren and homely as its environment was ruggedly primitive, with the shifting sands of Cape Cod and the sailless sea for a foreground. One doubts not but the entertainment was ample, and here was a feast of reason and a flow of soul and a congenial mingling of sincerity, unalloyed by the cult of a Richelieu or a Talleyrand, to crystallize the friendship of Samoset into a brilliant of the first water. This seems to be the only instance recorded of Samoset's being entertained at an English table. Levett's account is utterly barren. Brown is silent, though Samoset was undoubtedly a frequent guest of the English after Shurt's advent into Pemaquid affairs. Abram Shurt was evidently a cold-eyed man of business, whose brain could evolve a jurat out of centuries of legal verbiage in a single sentence that should be as impeccable as the point of perfection itself, and Samoset finds no place in his daily round after Brown's title to Pemaquid was made secure. Samoset dropped out of the haunts of men as a star from the night sky. His going was as mysterious as his coming. His welcome is a matter of history. His farewell was whispered to the winds.

Over on Tappan's Island, not far from Damariscotta, was

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broken in the making, which have richly rewarded the patient search of the antiquarian. Arrow-

the traditional great burial-place of the Monhegan Indians, where numerous skeletons of the aborigines have been found. They were found some two feet below the surface of the ground, and were evidently buried in a sitting posture, the knees drawn upward, and facing the sunrise. In some instances diminutive sheets of fine copper were found above the skulls. In one grave was a knife with a copper blade, having a bone handle — possibly of French origin. It was a custom to leave with the deceased warrior a bit of food and his weapons of the chase, so he might be prepared for his entrance into the Happy Hunting-grounds. Samoset may have found his last abiding-place for the body here, or elsewhere. It does not matter; except that, savage though he was, somewhere overlooking the dancing waters of the Sagadahoc, and sometime when the mad world gets over its rush, the domain of this one of nature's noblemen will be fitly honored with a shaft to this prince of his race.

Samoset was great; great above his environment, if one can be greater than nature; greater than many a pale-face whose name is linked with the fortunes of those early days, and because his greatness was *au naturel*. With the civilization of Winthrop he would have been a greater Winthrop. With John Winthrop's tact, John Eliot's deeps of humanity, and Experience Mayhew's passionate ardor, he would have been the Lincoln of his time, and possibly the emancipator of his race. He flashed across the low horizon of the English pioneers like a meteor spanning the deeps of night, to leave a luminous trail above the sands of Cape Cod. He recalls the romance of the woods and the realm of nature, where he ruled his little dynasty; and marvel though it be, his memory is as perennial as the mayflower that even yet blooms among

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heads, bone-needles, bone and stone gouges, whistles of bone, even rude combs made of bone, have been discovered, all of which have a story of their own, which, could one translate literally, would afford tales of romance to whet a jaded appetite.

the rugged places once familiar to his tread. It is the breath of the wilding blossom itself.

He reminds one of John crying in the wilderness, "Make Way!" a divinely appointed prophet unwittingly announcing the doom of his race. One would like to rend the pall off those last days of Samoset. His fall was like that of a giant of the woods, to lay prone among the lesser saplings that have climbed up in its genial shade like children clustering about the tale-making old man; a mute relic of a former grandeur, the stateliest shaft of the forest, whose head was soonest to catch the golden breaking of the dawn and the last to receive the ruddy benediction of the setting sun; the landmark of a little world from whose dusky spire the vagrant crow turned like a weather-cock, his head to the wind, or shouted his raucous challenge to the sower as he scattered his seed on some adjacent hillside. Here were the poetry and pathos of nature to mark the rounding of a woodland cycle.

So fell Samoset, among his tribe the greatest of his kind, and in the domains of his ancestors the only one to be remembered. Mayhap it was not long after his dividing his coat with John Brown that this fine aboriginal spirit faded away as the song of the thrush into the silence of the night. Nothing more is heard of him; for his voice was drowned in the jealous activities of trade at old Pemaquid; and singular it is that this silence should have been so abrupt. Like the smokes of his fires caught up by the winds to disappear within the mysteries of the deeper wilderness went the spirit of Samoset.

One can feel the drowsy spell that lay over the woods and

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Whatever may have been the history of this people, one has only to see these remains to be assured that in them is written all of their story one may ever know.

To revert again to 1534: when Cartier sailed up

waters of the bay as his sun sank through a cloudless west, and conjure up

“The soot-black brows of men,— the yell
Of women thronging round the bed,—
The tinkling charm of ring and shell,—
The Powah whispering o’er the dead;”

but one likes rather to think Samoset’s ear attuned to the songs of the birds, the myriad notes of the woods that had been his friends, silent yet sturdy, and the sighing requiem of the purring winds to paint along the walls of his lodge the shadow-dance of the leaves.

But the pathos of an Indian burial! How simple, how gently solicitous, and how abounding in faith were these rude children of the forest in these last rites! Those Happy Hunting-grounds were far away to them, yet very near to Samoset; for the Great Spirit was everywhere,—in the broad pennons of the spindling maize; the purling streams; the glowing heats of the summer sun; the fulness of the harvest moon; the mist-wrought clouds; and in all things sweet, beneficent, and beautiful as the seasons came and went with their infinite variety; but those illimitable preserves of fish and game, the wide hunting-lands of the Hereafter, were beyond the Waumbek Methna where the sun wrought the fabric of the night. It was a journey of how many sleeps, or even moons, they knew not.

When the sachem had been arrayed in his hunting-suit of deer-skin tanned to the softest of chamois, and his feathered head-dress was as he liked best to wear it, his people hollowed out a shallow seat in Mother Earth’s lap, and there they

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the St. Lawrence to Hochelaga, he mentions that he found there a considerable settlement. It is evident from this that at that time the aboriginal population of what became Canada was consider-

gently sat him down, with his knees drawn up to his chin, his inert arms folded over them, his head bent statuesquely like that of a seer; for his face was turned to the Spirit of Life when it should next herald the dawn above the far eastern rim of the sea. His bow, arrow, and axe were placed by his side, and a pouch of parched corn,—that of which he was so fond when the winter snows lay deep and he had hung his snow-shoes in the wigwam smoke to dry the wet in their thongs,—that he might have that with which to refresh himself as he traveled his lonely way.

There were no swathings of fine linen; no redolent spices; no magic rites;—only the committing of dust to dust. The moist earth caressed his face. He was in his mother's arms, and she held him as closely to her bosom as a nursing babe. It was the hospitality that speeds the parting guest who has gone out into the swift-falling shadows of the night, whose obscurities are veiled by the mists of sorrow.

So Samoset returned to the mysterious fountain which has flowed down all the years since Time began. Those who came after him to upturn the sacred ground with vandal hands may have found but a nameless hero in a nameless grave. The deep Pemaquid woods faded as he went, as if in sympathy. They withered at the white man's touch.

Samoset's nature was the reflex of the scenes he loved best,—quiet, generous, and unobtrusive. He is not remembered as a savage, the sachem of a barbarous horde, but as a child of nature, whose copper-colored face was as the sun shining upon many waters; whose voice was as musical as that of the white-throated sparrow; and whose heart was as wide as the universe.

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able. In the intervening years, whatever may have been the sources of its decimation — for at the coming of Champlain seventy years later its former dwellers had practically disappeared — is not apparent. Only the Montagnais, the native trappers of the Hudson Bay territory, remained to greet the trading-ships that brought Champlain — whose real purpose was to explore the St. Lawrence River — hither a second time, when, on the third day of June, 1608, he dropped his anchors into the mud of Tadoussac harbor.

Parkman gives a vivid description of the impoverishment of the Montagnais at this time. He classes them as among the most inferior of the Algonquin types, giving to them alike the reputation of being cannibals and human scavengers.¹

¹ For authorities on the Abenake and North American Indian, consult, as to primitive conditions of the Indian, observations of the early voyagers and their contemporaries, Ludwig's *Literature of American Languages*, vol. xi.

As to physique, etc., Gosnold's letter to his father, — *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. xxviii., p. 71; *ibid.*, vol. iii., pp. 219-226; *ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 117-122; *New England's Plantation*; Roger Williams's *Key*; DeForest, *Indians of Connecticut*, pp. 3, 4.

Manners, and habit of living: *Relations* of Gabriel Archer and John Brereton, Gosnold's *Voyage*, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. xxviii., pp. 73-76, 88-93, respectively; O'Callaghan's *History of New Netherlands*, vol. i., p. 53; Captain George Waymouth, *True Relation*, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. xxviii., p. 146.

Lescarbot (*Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vol. ii.,

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Whatever the future may hold of revelation of the aboriginal habitants of the Abenake country, that by which they are best known dates from the

p. 498) says, "They are traitors and thieves, and one has need to take care of them;" but Captain John Smith, a better observer, in his *Description of New England*, p. 26 (1616 edition), says, "We found the people in those parts very kind, but in their fury no less valiant."

Racial characteristics: observations on, by Palfrey (*History of New England*, vol. i., p. 22), who notes that the contents of the average Caucasian cranium measure ninety-three cubic inches, while those of the North American Indian measure an average of eighty-four.

Morton, in his *Crania Americana*, p. 63, says, "No other race of man maintains such a striking analogy through all its subdivisions, and amidst all its variety of physical circumstances."

As to groupings, *vide* Gallatin's *Synopsis of Indian Tribes, Transactions*, American Antiquarian Society, vol. ii.

The term "Algonquin," *sui generis*, is given these groups by the French. Their area of occupation was along the Atlantic, from Pamlico Sound to the Gulf of the St. Lawrence.

Dialectic distribution: Palfrey's *New England*, vol. i., p. 23; Gallatin's *Synopsis*, p. 32; Williamson's *History of Maine*, vol. i., p. 460. Gallatin makes two classes of the New England Indians (*Synopsis*, p. 307, *et seq.*). Pickering is of contrary opinion (*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. xix., pp. 236-239). Duponceau, *ibid*, Appendix vi., vii. Gorges (*ibid*, vol. xxvi., p. 59) mentions the fact that an Indian from Martha's Vineyard was able only with some difficulty to understand the dialect of a Maine Indian. He says, "After a while I perceived the difference was no more than that as ours is between the Northern and Southern people." Gookin says (*ibid*, vol. i.,

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French occupancy, which anticipates the actual coming of the English by a half-generation — unless the abortive house-builders at Sabino and the

p. 149), "The Indians of the parts of New England, especially along the sea-coasts, use the same sort of language." This writer, however, did not include the Indians of Maine in his consideration. He does not mention the Indians east of the Piscataqua River. A version of the Lord's Prayer in the Connecticut idiom, Mohegan, or Pequod, is preserved in the library of the Connecticut Historical Society at Hartford (pamph. 261). As to differences of words in the Indian language of New England, *vide* vocabulary in Appendix, Hale's *Treatise on American Ethnology*, American Ethnological Society, vol. ii., p. 110.

The Pequods are supposed to have descended from the Mohegans of New York. Resemblances in language of the Connecticut Indians noted in DeForest, *Indians of Connecticut*, p. 40.

Duponceau says: "Whether savages have or have not, many ideas, I do not determine; but if their ideas are few, their words, to express them, are many. I am lost in astonishment at the copiousness and admirable structure of the American languages."

The names "Tarratine" and "Abenaqui" are equivalents, according to Gallatin, *Synopsis*, p. 37. *Vide* Hutchinson, vol. i., p. 404; Williamson, vol. i., p. 470. For a distribution of the New England tribes, *vide* Palfrey's *New England*, vol. i., p. 24.

Wigwams, their furnishings and Indian methods of daily living, are described by Gookin, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. i., p. 150; *New England's Plantation*, *ibid*, vol. i., p. 123; Roger Williams's *Key*, *ibid*, vol. iii., p. 208. Maize, of legendary origin: Hutchinson, vol. i., p. 420; *vide* also Roger Williams's

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subsequent probable colonization of Pemaquid are to be regarded as contemporary with St. Croix, Port Royal, and Quebec, after which the story of

Key into the Language of America, chap. xv.; also, Champlain, *Voyage de la Nouvelle France*, pp. 73, 83, 84; Higginson's *New England Plantation*, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. i., p. 118; Josselyn's *Account of Two Voyages*; Lescarbot, vol. ii., p. 836; Palfrey's *New England*, vol. i., pp. 28-30.

Gookin comments upon the Indian's affection for his children. He says, "This extreme affection, together with want of learning, makes their children saucy, bold and undutiful" (*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. iii., p. 211). Among the Abenake polygamy was an exception. Among the southern New England Indians it was not an uncommon practice.

The Indian borrowed his one musical instrument, the drum, from the European. Roger Williams's *Key*, chap. iii.

As to their practice of notation, *vide* Wood, *New England Prospect*, Appendix; Eliot, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. xix., p. 261; Williams's *Key*, chap. iv.

They regulated their calendar by the moon. They as well gave names to the stars. Rosier (*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. xxviii., p. 156) says, "They have names for many stars." Winslow, in his *Good News from New England*, p. 60, says, "They know divers of the stars by name." He says they call the north star "The Bear." Williams, in his *Key*, chap. xii., says, "They much observe the stars, and their very children can give names to many of them." He observes that in addition to their giving to the constellation, "Ursa Major their own name for the bear, they designate the morning-star and two others."

The language of the Indian: structurally considered by Palfrey in his *History of New England*, vol. i., pp. 40-44.

The theology of the Indian: he is credited by the French

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the Land of the Abenake becomes merged in the *Relations* of the Jesuits.

explorers as "absolutely without a notion of religion." Joutel, *Journal Historique*, p. 225; Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vol. ii., p. 664; Champlain's *Voyages*, vol. iv.; Mourt's *Relation*, p. 61; *Good Newes from New England*, pp. 52, 55; *New English Canaan*, vol. i., chap. v.; *ibid*, chap. ix.; Wood's *New England Prospect*, pt. ii., chap. xii; Robertson, *History of America*, vol. iv., sec. 7; Williams, *History of Vermont*, chaps. vii. and viii.; De Maistre, *Soirées de Saint Pétersbourg*, vol. i., p. 77; Sullivan, *History of Maine*, p. 105; Callender, *R. I. Hist. Coll.*, vol. iv., p. 140; Hutchinson, vol. i., p. 414; Williams, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. iii., pp. 226-229; Gookin, *ibid*, vol. i., p. 146; *ibid*, vol. iii., pp. 209-226.

Decimation of the New England Indian by war and pestilence made the colonization of the country possible by the English. Gorges, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. vi., p. 57; Smith's *Pathway*, *ibid*, vol. iii., p. 16; Morton's *Mem.*; Thomas Morton's *New English Canaan*, in Force's *Tracts*, vol. ii.; Higginson, in *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 256; Johnson, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. ii., p. 66; Gookin, *ibid*, vol. i., p. 148; Cotton's *Way of Congregational Churches*, p. 21, and *Reply to Williams*, pp. 27, 28; Hubbard, pp. 54, 59, 194, 195; *Plymouth Colonial Laws* (edition of 1671); King James's *Charter*, 1620; Palfrey, *History of New England*, vol. i., p. 99, note.

THE FRENCH OCCUPATION

THE FRENCH OCCUPATION

THE story of the visit of Cartier to Stadaconé — an aboriginal settlement, apparently of some considerable importance, which was located along the shore of the St. Lawrence River — and the larger town of Hochelaga, and the friendly greeting extended to the French adventurer who first sailed up this great river, is suggestive. It is possible that this particular incident as a fact in history in connection with the occupation of the New World has been somewhat exaggerated in its importance.¹ Prior to this voyage of Cartier, which was projected by a young French noble by the name of Philippe

¹ It is not to be denied that Cartier's exploration of the St. Lawrence opened up a virgin field in the New World to the European adventurers. Considered perhaps as the second attempt by a Frenchman at the occupation of Northern America, it was so meager in actual results, so emphatically abortive as a colonization, that only the romance of the Hochelaga savages, their semi-mystic metropolis, and the disasters that carried the heels of these French adventurers and kidnappers, that one gleans from the indefatigable Hakluyt, remain to gloss these ill-starred expeditions of 1534-35. As to Cartier's rank as a discoverer, one finds it a debatable question. So emphatically is he overshadowed by Champlain that he is to be regarded as hardly more than a hardy sea-rover, measured by actual accomplishment. As a predecessor of Champlain he cannot be said to rank with

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de Brion-Chabot, whatever discoveries had been made of this new country were of a most superficial character, for the reason that the earlier voyagers to the Western Continent had been content to sail along the coast, rather than extend their investigations inland by searching out the sources of the great rivers within the mouths of which they possibly may have dropped anchor. It is necessary, in considering the beginnings of what was later known as New France, to revert to these adventures of Cartier. Verrazano¹ had opened up the way to those who were to come after him. Whatever he had made of discovery had been faithfully reported, perhaps with some exaggeration, to the government which despatched him to these parts, — a voyage upon which some doubt has been cast; which by some has been regarded as a fabrication.

This voyage of Verrazano antedates that of Cartier by ten years — a voyage anticipated as early as 1506 by a navigator of Honfleur by the name of Denis, who made an exploration of the Gulf of the St. Lawrence; but it is not recorded that he made any particular examination of the great river which found its outlet into the same.

Cabot, who was the original discoverer of the country. Cartier, as well, came after Cortereal and Verrazano. According to Cartier due distinction as a navigator, he was evidently more the adventurer than a colony-builder.

¹For Verrazano's narrative, *vide* Hakluyt's translation from Ramusio, in *Divers Voyages*, 1582.

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Two years later, a Dieppe navigator, Aubert, made a voyage to the St. Lawrence. Another ten years later the Baron de Léry attempted a settlement upon Sable Island, taking along with him a small herd of live stock, which he did not take the trouble to remove when he abandoned his enterprise. Verrazano's voyage followed De Léry's abortive effort at colonization.

While Columbus has been accepted as the discoverer of the New World, there is sound reason to believe that this coast was known to the Basques, and that the cod-banks off Newfoundland had been frequented from a much earlier date by these hardy fishermen. It is well asserted as a historical fact that the alleged discovery of Columbus had been already anticipated by a Dieppe navigator, Cousin, who, blown off his course on a voyage along the African coast, came in sight of an unknown country, where he discovered the mouth of a considerable river. Pinzon was with Cousin during this voyage. Upon going to Spain Pinzon became known to Columbus, and, relating to the latter the story of Cousin's discovery, accompanied the Genoese navigator on his voyage of 1492. Cabot was here in 1497.¹

¹The Cabots were Venetians. Zuan was the father; and of the three sons, Sebastian was the greater navigator. After the Norse, Sebastian Cabot was the first voyager to sail down the Gulf of Maine (1497). It was among the ice-floes of the Arctic Sea he made the discovery of the variation of the mag-

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There is much evidence that the fisheries along the Newfoundland shores began as early as 1504. It is admittedly a fact that after 1517 these fisheries were carried on uninterruptedly by the French, English, Spaniards, and Portuguese. Those were days of superstition, and off these shores were two islands to the north, which upon the old charts were known as the Isles of the Demons.¹ The most improbable stories were related of these two islands, which the old map-maker Thevet verifies by a statement he has taken pains to put on record.² The country adjacent to these fishing-grounds was

netic needle, which discovery he gave to the world on his return to England.

For a narrative of the Cabot voyages, *vide* Kohl, *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. i., Second Series.

It was on his second voyage that Cabot sailed down the Bay of Maine, and it was with this voyage the thread of English exploration along its shores began its unwinding.

Sylvester, *Maine Pioneer Settlements*, vol. ii., pp. 35-44.

¹On Ruscelli's map (1561) one finds the island "*Isola de Demoni*," adjoining *Terra del Labrador*. Hakluyt (1587) shows "*Demon I.*" east of Hochelaga. The mythic St. Brandan appears on this map to the southeastward. Ruysch (1508) indicates Demon Island, but does not name it; it lies east of Greenland. It is the Fishot Island of modern maps.

For the legend of Demon Island, *vide* Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World*, pp. 193, 194.

Thevet, *Cosmographie*, 1575, vol. ii., chap. 5.

²Serious question is made as to Thevet's veracity. Some investigators express grave doubts as to whether this French annalist ever made the voyages he records. His stories con-

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known as Baccalaos¹. It was toward this country the ambitions of the Old World were in the near future to be directed.

At this time Spain had made important discoveries along the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, which had become known as "the Indies," which, with the aid of Cortes, had become a source of immense wealth to Charles v. These profitable adventures on the part of Spain aroused in the heart of Francis I. a spirit of envy, out of which came the adventures of Verrazano, which dated from 1523. It was this voyager, whose ambition was to discover a passage to Cathay, who gave to the French king the earliest written description of any part of the North American coast. His subsequent career is shrouded in obscurity. There is a record that he made a subsequent voyage under the direction of the English Henry VIII., and that he lost his life, being killed and eaten by the savages who inhabited the shores which marked his first discovery.²

flict notably, and suggest the appropriation of the same from different sources, which somewhat impairs their credence.

¹The Basques were a primeval people inured to the sea, steeped in hardihood, and a race of fishermen. They were intimately acquainted with the cod-banks of Newfoundland before the first voyage of Cabot (1497). For the derivation see *ante*, p. 23, note.

²Biddle, *Memoir of Cabot*, p. 275.

Barcia, *Ensayo Cronologias*, p. 8.

M. Berthelot, *Dissertation sur le Canon de Bronze*.

Biddle thinks Verrazano went to England and was there

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The interest of the French in this new land was interrupted by the misfortunes which befell Francis at Pavia, where he was taken captive by the Bourbon invaders of Provence. It was shortly after this that a favorite of the French king, Chabot, afforded to Cartier the means of prosecuting the French interests in the neighborhood of the St. Lawrence River.

April 20, 1534, Cartier sailed from St. Malo, laying his course for Newfoundland. Making the Straits of Belle Isle, he sailed into the Gulf of Chaleur, and, landing at Gaspé, planted the cross of France, not doubting for a moment that he was about to sight the spicy shores of Cathay, keeping his way by the St. Lawrence River to Anticosti Island. Arriving here somewhat late in the season, and taking warning of the climatic changes which indicated the coming of boisterous weather, he turned his face toward the sunrise to begin his return voyage to France, taking along with him two savages of the country, whom he had induced to come aboard his vessel, as Parkman says, "by an act of villianous treachery." The result of this adventurous voyage was to arouse anew the French spirit of discovery; and when Cartier had related

employed as a pilot, and that he is the Piedmontese pilot who was killed and eaten by the savages in Rut's expedition of 1527. Asher agrees with Biddle. M. Berthelot writes of the old cannon found in the St. Lawrence River which has been associated with Verrazano.

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his story to his French audience no further doubt existed that the passage to India had been discovered. It was determined to build up a new France to the westward. Setting aside, as perhaps of small importance, the religious heresies which at that time were stirring both Germany and France most deeply, leaving to the consideration of others the influence which may have been exerted by the Catholic interests of France in the propagation of its tenets in this newly discovered country, it is enough to say that Francis I. found a sufficient incentive in the carrying on of his discoveries in this direction in the fact that Pope Alexander VI. had promulgated a bull by which the title to the entire American Continent was reposed in the Spanish Crown.

In October of 1534, under another commission from Chabot, Cartier fitted out three small vessels. May 19 of the following year he again sailed away from St. Malo. After a somewhat tempestuous voyage, in which these ships were scattered, they finally came together at the Straits of Belle Isle; and holding their course westward by Labrador, they came into a haven opposite Anticosti Island, to which Cartier gave the name of St. Lawrence Bay, which was later applied to the broad sheet of water which lay beyond, and to the great river which flowed into the same, which at that time was known as the "River of Hochelaga." He also makes mention of it as the "Great River of Can-

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ada.”¹ On this voyage he took along the two savages kidnapped by him the previous year. It was to them he looked for pilotage up this unexplored stream. By September 1 they had come to the Saguenay; and, leaving behind the Isle aux Coudres² and Cape Tourmente, they anchored under the lee of a verdurous island which was so abundantly festooned with grapes that Cartier gave to it the name of the Island of Bacchus. Here the two savages were allowed to join their countrymen; and one can imagine the marveling of these aborigines at the strange tales which undoubtedly fell upon their ears.

Cartier mentions that he here found a numerous people, who in their bark canoes swarmed about his ships and clambered over their decks, whom he received courteously, along with the speech of their great sachem, Donnacona. He entertained the savages with food and wine, and upon the departure of his last guest he got into a boat with some of his sailors and began the exploration of the river higher up, and it was on this boat-ride he

¹On a map by Ortelius (1572) Canada is located above the Saguenay River. Cartier calls the St. Lawrence the “River of Hochelaga” and, as well, the “Great River of Canada.” A vocabulary is made a part of Cartier’s *Journal* of his second voyage, and “Canada” stands for a town, or village. “*Ille appellent une ville, Canada.*” It belongs to the Iroquois dialect. Thevet renders the word “*Terre.*” So does Belleforest.

²Orleans Island.

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discovered the clustered huts that topped the site of Quebec. It was here at Stadaconé that Cartier made his first state visit to the royal sachem whom he calls Donnacona.¹ The Indians at this place described to Cartier a larger town which bordered the shores of the St. Lawrence up river, to reach which would require a journey of many "sleeps."

¹ Donnacona was king of Stadaconé. Hochelaga was some leagues further up the St. Lawrence, and was of greater importance. When Cartier signified his intention to go thither the savages attempted to dissuade him from his purpose, and they indulged in a bit of rude pantomime which they hoped would so strike him with terror that it would prevent him from further prosecuting his intended exploration. While the ships swayed with the morning tide three savage imps in a canoe floated down stream hideously arrayed in dog-skins and horns, their faces daubed with charred coals. After going through a series of uncouth performances and indulging in an extended declamation on the mysterious dangers that would befall Cartier if he persisted in his purpose, they made for the shore, and once there they dropped to the bottom of their canoe as if stricken with death, from which they were at once removed and borne into the deeper shadows of the woods alongshore. This was followed by the appearance of the two Indians who had been brought back from France, who appeared in great terror, informing Cartier if he persisted going up river he would bring ruin upon himself and his people.

This relation is interpreted by M. Berthelot as a pantomimic description of the shipwreck which Verrazano was supposed to have met with in his last voyage, which may have been up the St. Lawrence. M. Berthelot's imagination is unsurpassed.

Dissertation sur le Canon de Bronze, par M. Berthelot.

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This was the ancient Hochelaga, and it was from this place that the river had its name. It was thither Cartier went with his smallest ship, supported by two open boats, his crew comprising some fifty sailors and some of the French gentlemen who had accompanied him to the New World. It was an uneventful exploration through a most picturesque country, which ended where now alongshore are the busy wharves of Montreal. Here a vast throng of Indians greeted the strangers with childish delight, to shower upon them such gifts of food as were in their power. When the dusk had fallen, huge bonfires were lighted, around which the Indians indulged in a riot of joyous dancing. This event occurred October 2, 1635. The following day they made their way through the woods within the shadows of which was hidden the future magnificence of a great city.¹

¹Ramusio (vol. iii., p. 446) shows a plan of Hochelaga. The origin of the sketch is obscure. Indian remains have been dug up in Montreal as street-excavations have been made at one time or another. They have been regarded as Huron-Iroquois, rather than Algonquin. Pottery and bone tools have been found. Although the natives of this region in the time of Cartier are asserted to be Huron-Iroquois, when Champlain came he found only the Algonquin. Hochelaga and Stadaconé had been wiped out of existence, probably by the invasion of tribes having their habitat about the Great Lakes.

Vide Lafitan, vol. i., p. 101.

One finds in Colden (*History of the Five Nations*) mention of a tradition that the Iroquois were formerly settled near

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Cartier's visit to Donnacona, whom Parkman calls "a greasy potentate," has no particular interest other than to emphasize the shifting character of those aborigines who have been identified with the Huron-Iroquois family; for, some seventy years later, where Cartier found a populous people Champlain was not able to discover a solitary vestige of village or wigwam — only a few wandering, half-starved Montagnais.¹ It is a matter of fact, however, that while Cartier was upon this visit to ancient Hochelaga those left behind upon the banks of the St. Charles had built a fort of palisades, and the French vessels had been moored in close proximity to this hastily constructed defence.² They passed the winter here, and the new year had not begun before they were stricken with scurvy, which resulted in the death of a number of

Montreal, and that they were driven thence by the Adirondacks (Algonquins). Parkman mentions "Canada" as a word of Mohawk derivation. "Montreal" is a corruption of "Mont Royal," the name given by Cartier to a neighboring elevation.

Curiously enough, "Canada" in the Portuguese language means "a lane."

¹The Montagnais (Algonquins) were from the Hudson Bay country. Champlain's description of them is suggestive of their nomadic characteristics.

²When Champlain was here in 1608 he found traces of Cartier's fort, the site of which, according to M. Faribault, is near the confluence of the Lairet stream with the St. Charles.

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the party. It was through an Indian their attention was called to a certain evergreen, which Lescarbot mentions as the *annedda*, which they brewed, and used with such success that they overcame the distemper, and health returned to the little community.¹

Spring came, and Cartier returned to France with strange tales of a land of great riches which was inhabited by white people, whose peculiarity was that they were a one-legged race. Unwilling, however, to stake his reputation upon these wondrous stories, he had determined to kidnap Donnacona, along with some of his sachems; and, succeeding in luring them into an ambushade, they were captured and taken aboard his vessels, whereupon the sails were hoisted for the homeward voyage.² This treachery consummated, he had caused a cross to be planted before sailing, as well as a fleur-de-lis. Without further notice of Cartier's fortunes, it is sufficient to note that he reached St. Malo July 16, 1536.

This adventure of Cartier was followed up by Jean François de la Roque, Sieur de Roberval, a

¹ Parkman mentions this incident and, following Lescarbot, evidently, says: "The sick men drank copiously of the healing draught,—so copiously indeed that in six days they drank a tree as large as a French oak."

² It was from the shores of Labrador, Cortereal, on his voyage of 1500 to the New World, captured and carried away into slavery a ship-load of Indians.

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Picardy nobleman. A patent was issued to him in which he was styled Lord of Norembega, Viceroy-Lieutenant-General in Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, Newfoundland, Belle Isle, Carpunt, Labrador, the Great Bay, and Baccalaos.¹

¹ Belle Isle and Carpunt are neighboring islands. The land of Norembega, which Hakluyt designates as "Arembic" (*vide* that author, vol. iii., p. 167), is shown on a map by Ramusio as including a part of Maine, a part of New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. De Laet locates it on the Penobscot River. Wytfleit, along with some other contemporary writers, describes it as a country with a metropolis of the same name. The word is regarded as of Indian derivation. "Aurobagra" is given on some of the old maps.

Gastaldi's map gives the Penobscot as the River of Norumbega, while on Lok's map Norumbega appears as an island. The Abbé Lavardière is of the opinion that the River of Norumbega is identical with the Bay of Fundy.

Wytfleit writes: "Moreover towards the north is Norumbega which is well-known by reason of a fair town and a great River, though it is not to be found from whence it has taken its name." Heylin, as late as 1669, in his *Cosmographie*, mentions Norumbega as a "fair city."

Like ancient Hochelaga, it had utterly disappeared in Champlain's time—if it had ever existed at all, which is doubtful.

Thevet mentions a fort on the Penobscot, which he saw there, which he asserts was existent prior to 1555. He says: "Some pilots would make me believe that the country (Norumbega) is the proper country of Canada. But I told them that this was far from the truth, since this country lies in 43° 17, and that of Canada in 50 or 52°." The fort mentioned by him was "the Fort of Norumbegue."

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As to the savages captured by Cartier: a year and a half after their arrival in France they had died, and the anticipations of Cartier as to the advantages to be gained from their education were thereby ended. Five ships were fitted out at St. Malo, and, on May 23, 1541, Cartier had again sailed for New France. He was to be followed by Roberval. Pursuing his voyage safely, he again dropped anchor within the shadows of the shaggy cliffs of Quebec, and his vessels were surrounded by canoes loaded with the savages of Donnacona, who were clamorous for news of their great sachem. They were informed by Cartier that Donnacona was dead. He made such representations as to those who were kidnapped with him that the savages were apparently appeased. Renewing his voyage up river, he again anchored at the River of Cap Rouge. Here they began a settlement, and, clearing the land of forest trees, they sowed some seeds and opened up a road by which they could gain the summit of the cliffs, where they built a fort. Another fort, as well, was constructed on the bank of the river, below. With the early winter, Roberval had not arrived at Charlesbourg-Royal, for this was the name the French had given to the settlement.¹

¹The story of Cartier's voyage and his wintering on the banks of the St. Charles is recorded by Hakluyt. Parkman asserts it to be the only *original* narrative, and of a fragmentary character.

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Roberval had been delayed, for it was not until the middle of the next April (1542) that he left Rochelle. June 8 he made the harbor of St. John, where he found a small fleet of fishing-vessels. He had hardly dropped anchor, when in the offing he made out the three ships of Cartier, who had abandoned his colony. Roberval directed him at once to return to Charlesbourg-Royal; but Cartier had evidently considered the situation, and, under cover of the darkness of night, abandoned Roberval and set sail for France. This may be considered an unsatisfactory ending of Cartier's third voyage to Canada, which had been rewarded by a patent of nobility.

Roberval, shipping his anchors, sailed out of the harbor of St. John and northward into the Straits of Belle Isle. After passing the famous Demon Islands he held his course up the St. Lawrence, to anchor under the shadows of Cap Rouge. Here he landed, and began immediately the construction of some rude barracks, which grew into sufficient dimensions so the entire colony were housed under one roof,— a structure that was supplied not only with living-rooms, but, as well, storerooms, halls, a kitchen, an oven, and two water-mills. To this rude settlement Roberval gave the name of France-Roy. Its site was that occupied by Cartier on a previous voyage. They had no stores for their storehouse nor grist for their mills. Their oven was ample, but there was nothing to bake. Remaining

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at this place through the winter, they found little with which to occupy themselves other than their quarrels, mutinies, and the anxieties and fatalities of disease. By the time the snow had left the ground and the ice was out of the river one third of Roberval's colony was dead. It is a gloomy relation that has come down to us from Thevet; for he records that in addition to those who died from sickness, one was hanged for theft. Six others of the soldiery were likewise hanged, having incurred Roberval's anger. Others were banished to an adjoining island and fettered; while for other offences, both men and women were shot. It is evident Roberval ruled his little colony with a hand of iron. It was during this summer the king despatched Cartier to bring Roberval home, and it is here the story of New France is abruptly broken off. What became of Roberval's colony, or the tenure of its existence, is uncertain.¹

The years intervening between 1543 and Champlain's voyage in 1608, so far as the St. Lawrence River is concerned, were a blank. France was fully occupied with affairs of more serious import

¹ Parkman has it that Roberval in after-years made an effort to regain his interest in the St. Lawrence domain, and lost his life thereby. Thevet affirms that Roberval was slain one dark night in a dingy Paris street in the neighborhood of the Church of the Innocents.

Le Clerc, *Etablissement de la Foy*, vol. i., p. 14.

Parkman, *Pioneers of New France*, p. 231.

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within her own borders, and it was not until the voyage of Du Guast and Champlain of 1604 that any further serious attempt was made at the colonization of this country by the French. The fishermen came here from Normandy and Breton, loading their vessels with the treasures of the sea and carrying on some intermittent trade in furs with the natives. The Marquis de la Roche, a nobleman of Brittany, made an abortive attempt to resettle New France, landing at Sable Island, where he left a portion of his convict crew, who began the erection of some rude shelters while he continued his exploration of the adjoining coasts, to be driven back to France by a tempest which made it impossible for him to return to Sable Island. The men left at this place began a precarious existence; and had it not been for the wild cattle, which had been propagated possibly by those left here by the Baron de Léry eighty years earlier, they would have been without their principal means of subsistence. In a half-decade of years, of the forty brought hither by De la Roche only twelve remained to be rescued by Chefdhôtel, a Normandy pilot who was sent by the king to bring them home. With the exception of this incident, the story of those northeastern seas is a barren one.

In the various religious wars which had distracted France for a half century Henry iv. had surmounted his political difficulties; and, aware of the commercial possibilities of the New World, he be-

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came interested in a project of Aymar de Chastes, who at that time was Governor of Dieppe. Under the patronage of De Chastes, a company was formed to establish a fur trade at Tadoussac. It is at this stage the student of New World history meets with Samuel de Champlain, whose name was to be ever after a part of the story of New France. Champlain had just returned from a voyage to the West Indies, and there were many conferences in regard to the proposed adventure to the New World between De Chastes and himself. Being offered a position by De Chastes in his new company, Champlain accepted. His next appearance is at Honfleur, whither he had come from the king, having obtained the royal consent to join the enterprise. Passing over the preparations necessary to the successful carrying out of this adventure, we find Champlain one of the crew comprised in two small vessels making their way up the St. Lawrence River. Leaving Tadoussac behind, they passed Orleans Island and the precipices of Quebec, until across their vision lay the purple shadows of Mont Royal. Here was the site of Cartier's Hochelaga. To Pontgravé and Champlain no trace of its former occupation was visible. They were greeted by a few nomadic Algonquins, who had apparently drifted into the locality after the fashion of the wandering aborigine. Champlain, unable to ascend the rapids of St. Louis in his boats, returned to his vessels, where he was able to gather some crude

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impression of the country beyond from the rude charts which the Indians marked out upon the deck. Unable to extend his explorations further at this time, he set sail for France, to learn upon his arrival that the promoter of the expedition, De Chastes, had died during his absence.

It was left to Pierre du Guast, Sieur de Monts, Governor of Pons, to take up the enterprise. He went to the king and, laying the matter before him, was commissioned Lieutenant-General of Acadia. He was to have a monopoly of the fur trade. De Chastes's original company was made the nucleus of the new enterprise. Two ships were fitted out, in which were crowded together, as Parkman says, "the best and meanest of France." Among them were the Baron de Poutrincourt and Champlain. It was a mixed company, in which mingled thieves, Catholic priests, and Huguenot ministers. One of these vessels, under De Monts, sailed away from Havre de Grace on April 7, 1604. Pontgravé, who was to bring along the stores for the support of the colony, was to follow a few days later.

De Monts had been to the St. Lawrence with Chauvin, and his disposition was for a milder climate. He made his landfall on the south coast of Nova Scotia, to enter, four days later, a small bay, where he discovered a French vessel at anchor. The place is now known as Liverpool Harbor. Making captive the vessel and its captain, Rossignol, he dropped anchor in a near-by harbor, where

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he awaited the arrival of Pontgravé. The latter had been no less fortunate, as, at Canseau, he had made prize of four Basque fur-traders. The stores being delivered to De Monts, Pontgravé steered for Tadoussac for a bit of trade with the Indians, while De Monts, with Rossignol's vessel, took up his voyage, to double Cape Sable, after which he dropped anchor at St. Mary's Bay. Two weeks later they were coasting the shores of the Bay of Fundy until they came to the St. Croix River, anchoring in Passamaquoddy Bay.

In these explorations Champlain had begun a systematic survey, sounding the deeps and shoals and making charts of the various harbors; studying the habits of the natives, who received the French with great friendliness, and who brought to the strangers baskets of maize and a white and red fruit which Champlain described as mulberries. They named the rivers as they went, and the various harbors, to finally make a selection for the site of their settlement in a river which he described as *La Rivière des Etchemins*, near the mouth of which was an island to which he gave the name of St. Croix. This island commanded the situation from a defensive point of view. Here they landed and began the building of a fort, landing their cannon and supplies. A spacious enclosure was surrounded by palisades, so that before the close of the season the north end of St. Croix Island was covered by the dwellings in which they were to pass the winter. In

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their laying out of this settlement a chapel and cemetery were included, and one finds a plan of the same in a little quarto of 1613 published and sold by Jean Berjon, at the sign of the Flying Horse, Rue St. Jean de Beauvais.

These labors being performed, Poutrincourt returned to France. A colony of seventy-nine men remained at St. Croix, and it was while these buildings were being erected for the new settlement that De Monts and Champlain, in the month of September, in a pinnace, had sailed westward, where they discovered and named the island of Mount Desert; had entered the Penobscot River, the Norumbega of the ancient fishermen, to sail as far up stream as Kedesquit. On this voyage Champlain had observed carefully the coast and made charts of the same, to which were added copious notes of his observations of the country. They finally returned to St. Croix Island, where with the others he passed the winter in a whirl of snow and frost. When the spring opened, of the seventy-nine colonists only forty-four remained. Almost one half of the little colony had found their way into the cemetery; and of them all, perhaps Champlain alone was unaffected by the prevailing discouragement and despair. They were not without their anxieties, and no doubt, remembering the exiles of Sable Island, they questioned the delay of Pontgravé. It was not until June 16 that the latter dropped anchor before St. Croix.

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De Monts, dissatisfied with his experiences of the winter just passed, determined to make search for a more propitious climate, and for the second time he set out upon a voyage of discovery down the coast, accompanied by Champlain, some of the gentlemen of his company, and twenty sailors, taking along with him, as well, the savage Panou-nais and his squaw. He left St. Croix Island June 18. Passing Mount Desert and the mouth of the Penobscot, he came to the Kennebec, which he explored. Crossing Casco Bay, he reached Saco Bay, July 9. He found here a savage people whose wigwams were surrounded by fields of maize, beans, pumpkins, squashes, and tobacco. From the Saco they kept on to the southward, crossing Portsmouth harbor, to skirt the nose of Cape Ann. To this point of land Champlain gave the name of Cap aux Isles. To Gloucester harbor he gave the name of Beauport. Entering Massachusetts Bay, he noted what is probably the Charles River, to which he gave the name Rivière du Guast. Leaving the islands of Boston harbor behind, the waters of which were dotted with canoes filled with Indians, they coasted Nantasket Beach, to make their next anchorage near Brant Point. The eighteenth, they were forced by the wind into Plymouth harbor, which he designates in the story of this voyage as Port St. Louis; and he noticed that the shores were lined with wigwams and gardens. Circling the bay, they turned Cape Cod, to which Champlain

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gave the name of Cap Blanc, keeping on to Nausett harbor, to which he gave the name of Port Mallebarre. Here they had their first conflict with the Indians, where Champlain came near losing his life by the bursting of his arquebus.

Throughout this voyage Champlain had busied himself with his observations and his charts, nor was he the less observant of the savages whose acquaintance these voyagers had made alongshore. It was at Nausett they fell short of provisions. Turning the prow of their vessel toward St. Croix, they anchored opposite the colony August 3. But of all the places which had come under the observation of De Monts, he had found nothing to his liking. The stores and portions of the buildings at St. Croix were loaded into the vessels, and, taking their course across the Bay of Fundy, they dropped anchor at Port Royal. It was here a new settlement was begun and the buildings of a new colony began to take shape; nor was it long after that De Monts, leaving Pontgravé in command at Port Royal, set sail for France, leaving Champlain and Champdoré, with some others who had determined to face the peril of another winter, in the new country.

This first voyage of Champlain has been briefly noted, as marking the secondary stage in the scheme of French colonization, the real beginning of which may be said to date from the Pentecostal¹ advent

¹The ship that brought the two Jesuits dropped anchor under the lee of Port Royal on the Day of Pentecost.

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of the Jesuits Pierre Biard and Enemond Masse (1611), and, as well, the ambitious plan of Poutrincourt at Port Royal. These Jesuits came over in the *Grace of God* from Dieppe. This was made possible by the knife of Ravallac, that found the heart of Henri, the Bearnais king, among the shadows of the Rue de la Ferronnerie, which, to the misfortune of Europe, happened May 14, 1610. With the death of Henri the Jesuit superseded the Huguenot, and with the advent of Marie de Medici, as false and faithless a woman as ever France knew, the means of a beneficent progress became the prey of intriguing corruption and the sport of an ecclesiastical despotism. The hand of the assassin had introduced into the future of New France an influence by which its New World policy was to be directed to ultimate disaster. In the colonization of the New World the French were more ambitious than the English, and it was for the reason that the French government interested itself in the adventures of private individuals in the explorations of portions of the Western Continent that they were able to obtain the earlier foothold. The coming of the Jesuits to Port Royal was not in accordance with the plan of Poutrincourt, who, although a good Catholic, had little sympathy with the Jesuit policy. To him they were not only objects of dislike, but, as well, of suspicion. He feared their influence in his colony; and while he dare not refuse to bring them over in his own vessel, he pursued a

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course of evasion, which left Biard to nurse his disappointment at Bordeaux.

It will be remembered as a matter of history that the command of De Monts was imperiled by the activities of his enemies at Paris, and it was necessary he should return promptly in order to protect his interests. He set sail for France, leaving Pontgravé in command at Port Royal. When he reached Paris he found his friends looking askance upon his enterprise, while his enemies were keenly aggressive. It was left, however, to Poutrincourt, who had lost none of his zeal, to prosecute the affairs of New France personally. In this he found an active coadjutor in Marc Lescarbot, a man out of the common run, whose good sense and vigorous understanding, and the breadth of whose outlook, were as noticeable as his interest and intelligence. He was the historian of New France, and it is to him one looks for the record of those initial movements which were to become the foundation of a vigorous policy of paternalism.

Concerning the fortunes of this colony at Port Royal, of which Parkman has given a lucid account, it is not within the scope of the present work to make further allusion to it. The story of "L'Ordre de Bon-Temps" gives one an insight into the everyday life of this colony, and in a way is suggestive of the vitality which actuated these adventurers. The choice spirits who made up this isolated company of Frenchmen had pitched their ambitions

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for the conquest of the wilderness in a key to which the St. Croix Colony had evidently been a stranger. By reason of adverse influence at the French court, De Monts had been stripped of his privileges. The Port Royal enterprise was in a way of becoming as abortive as had been the previous efforts for colonization along this coast; and it came about that in the early October of 1607 the *Jonas* had dropped her anchor in the harbor of St. Malo, and that once more Lescarbot, Poutrincourt,¹ and Champlain had returned to the country of their nativity.

In 1609 Champlain was once more on the St. Lawrence. This time he was the commandant of the ship and the expedition. He had sailed from Honfleur, and, as his lone vessel beat up the bay, the burden of his undertaking must have set lightly upon his shoulders; for his heart was in his enterprise, and the New World wilderness, with its wide wastes of sun-glinted waters and deeps of odorous pines, called to him with a voice that was not to be withstood. He had yielded to the glamour of adventure, and yet, underneath was the indomitable determination to reclaim the apparently endless riches of this vast domain to the uses of

¹"In the year 1615 during the civil disturbances that followed the marriage of the King, command was given him of the royal forces destined for the attack on Méry: and there, happier in his death than in his life, he fell, sword in hand."

Parkman, *Pioneers of New France*, p. 329, note.

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civilization, allied to a burning passion for discovery. It may have been that Champlain saw as with prophetic eye the populous towns and cities that were to follow in the train of this lonely voyage. If such were the case, he has not seen fit to record the vision in his relation.

Five years intervened. They had been eventful years, into which had been crowded many valuable experiences. It had been a rough school, and he was about to put its lessons to the task of unveiling the mystery that lurked within the deeps of the Canada woods, and, as well, to extend the domain of that subtle essence to which the Jesuits gave the name "The True Faith." From the moment Champlain's lone sails had dropped their shadows into the waters of the St. Lawrence on this second coming the ancient barbarism of its surrounding was doomed. He had not forgotten Mont Royal; and, with old Hochelaga for his goal, he followed the course of the wind up stream until he had overtaken Pontgravé, who had sailed away from Honfleur eight days in advance, with a cargo of goods for the Indian trade of Tadoussac. Pontgravé was patiently awaiting Champlain, who was bringing along the men, arms, and the colony supplies. With Pontgravé was another vessel, a Basque craft, the master of which was driving a brisk trade with the savages, with which barter Pontgravé at once interfered, to meet the rebuff of cannon and musketry-shot by which two of his men

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were wounded and another was killed. It was in this disabled condition, beside the waters of the Saguenay, that Champlain found Pontgravé; but a peace was patched up between the belligerents, and the Basques abandoned the fur trade. Here they found the barrack of eight years before built by Chauvin, and clustered under the cliffs were the wigwams of some Montagnais, whose rich accumulations of furs had been transported from the hold of the Basque vessel and the frail canoes of the savages to his own craft.

Delaying no longer at Tadoussac, Champlain made his way further up stream until the verdure of Point Levi filled his delighted vision. On the opposite side of the river were the heights of Quebec,¹ below which ran a rib of walnut woods, and it was here the axes began a strange clamor amid verdurous silences. As the trees fell the pile of wooden walls and roofs arose. Here was begun a third essay for the colonization of New France, upon which Fortune set her approval.

Here at Québec Champlain had the usual experiences common to the control of a mixed commu-

¹ Bouchette estimates their height at eighteen hundred feet. The origin of the name, says Parkman, in a note, has been disputed. He regards it of Indian origin, following the opinion of Champlain and Lescarbot. Charlevoix says it is derived from *Quebeio* or *Quelibec*, meaning "to narrow." Garneau had it from a half-breed Algonquin that "Quebec" means "a strait." He says a Micmac missionary gives to the word

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nity, the most serious of which was a conspiracy, which was promptly nipped in the bud; and while the ringleader was at once swung from a gibbet and three of his accomplices were sent to France in charge of Pontgravé, the rest were dismissed with an admonition.¹ Champlain having made good progress with his preparations for wintering at Quebec, on September 18 Pontgravé shipped his anchors to drift out with the tide on his return voyage to Honfleur. Outside of this settlement of Champlain's the wandering Montagnais set up their wigwams. Then the snows came, and when the winter had gone, out of the twenty-eight men who counted the first falling flakes, only eight were left alive.² The fifth of June a small vessel rounded Orleans Point. It was Marais, a son-in-law of Pontgravé, who brought news that the latter was at Tadoussac. When Marais went down stream Champlain accompanied him, and the arrangement was made by which Champlain was to make a thorough exploration of the head-waters of this great river. Pontgravé was to take charge of affairs at Quebec.

"Kibec" the same meaning. One finds the word engraved on the ancient seal of Lord Suffolk (Hawkins's *Picture of Quebec*). It was the ancient Stadaconé of the Iroquois.

¹Lescarbot (1612), p. 623.

Purchas, vol. iv., p. 642.

²Champlain (1613), p. 206.

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Before the previous winter had set in an Ottawa sachem had found his way to Quebec. He had desired Champlain to lend him his assistance the following spring in an attack upon the Iroquois who lived in fortified villages about the lower waters of the great lake which afterwards came to be known by the name of its French discoverer. The idea appealed to Champlain, and he at once concluded that by a union of the Hurons and Algonquins against the Iroquois he might make himself a necessary factor to the safety of the savage tribes living along the waters beside which he had laid the foundations of a future city. The subsequent policy of the French was immediately outlined in the mind of Champlain, to whom the way seemed already open to ingratiate himself with these savages and thereby become the dominant power in their aboriginal deliberations and policies. It was an open door of which he immediately availed himself, and by which he was able to become an associate of their wild intimacies. He became a sharer of their food and shelter, and through him was inaugurated a system of paternalism that enveloped the Indians with a subtle mesh of power and diplomatic direction that was to be felt in the years to come to the most extended borders of their acquaintance. Champlain was evidently a man of many moods; for he readily imbibed the spirit of adventure that lurked amid the mysteries of the unexplored woods and streams, and as readily became

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a part of the wild life of which his savage allies were the ready exemplars.

It is of interest to follow Champlain upon this first expedition, which was as notable for its results as many other decisive battles which have made history possible. It was also important from the fact that it was the first allied hostile expedition of the white man and the savage north of the Spanish colonies. Having perfected his arrangements with Pontgravé for the care of the colony at Quebec, Champlain in the latter days of this same year set out with his Montagnais, taking his way eagerly up river until he came to the gathered warriors of the Hurons and Algonquins who were to go with him against the hereditary enemies of the latter,—the dreaded Iroquois and the Confederate Five Nations. He took along eleven men of Pontgravé's party. These, with the latter's son-in-law, Marais, and La Route, the pilot, filled one shallop; and, throwing the sail of their diminutive craft to the morning wind, they led the way to new perils, while crowded about them on the dancing waters were the canoes of the half-naked Montagnais, whose skins glistened like so many copper shields as they bent to their birchen paddles. They found their savage allies awaiting them at the mouth of the *Rivière des Iroquois* (Sorel), where they beached their craft.¹

Champlain was discounting the future.

¹Champlain and the Huron allies made their way to Lake

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The savages, in their joyous anticipations, indulged in a riotous feasting, the end of which was a quarrel that sent the larger portion of their warlike body back to their villages. Notwithstanding this discouraging desertion on the part of his allies, Champlain pushed his shallop into the stream and, with a remnant of his force, kept up river. Reaching the rapids above the island of St. John, he was again made aware of the unreliability of his savage guides; for he had been told that the journey to the great lake was an unobstructed one, and at the very outset of his expedition was a raging torrent, impetuous, wholly unnavigable, that involved a carry of almost a mile. Leaving the shallop at the foot of the rapids, under a guard of four men, joined by Marais, La Route, and the remainder of his party, he followed the shore of the river to the smooth water above. He notes in regretful disappointment: "It affected me and troubled me exceedingly to be obliged to return without having seen so great a lake, full of fair islands and bordered with the fine countries which they had described to me."

Once returned from the survey, he chided the Indians on their deception, but assured them that he would keep his word with them. He sent Marais and the larger portion of the party back to Quebec,

Champlain by way of the Richelieu River. It was called the Chambly, the St. Louis, and the Sorel.

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and, retaining two of his followers, with sixty savages in twenty-four canoes, he made the carry. Embarking on the smooth waters above, they kept on that day until, just before nightfall, they landed; and, after two hours of arduous exertion, they had thrown up a strong barricade of upright logs set in the form of a half circle, within which they enclosed their shelter for the night.

Champlain describes their consultation of the savage oracle, a mode of divination common among the Algonquins. This ceremony performed, the following morning found them plunging still more deeply into the wilderness, until Champlain, as if led by the luminousness of a mighty faith, broke the emerald veil of the forest to find his face mirrored within that magnificent stretch of water that has borne his name down long years of achievement by others. No doubt it was to him a most inspiring picture. On one side were the Green Mountains of Vermont. On the other, the verdant domes of the Adirondacks rose against the sky, to lose themselves in ever-mellowing folds of mystery, within which were hidden the Happy Hunting-grounds of the Iroquois; while still further to the south were the bark huts and stockades of the Mohawk and the Onondaga.

Night came. Beaching their canoes, they saw the purple shadows lengthen across the still waters of the lake and the slow mists rising in wraith-like silence out of the grayer shadows. The resinous

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odors of the woods mingled with the creosotes of their camp-fires. About them the woodland silences were palpitant with smothered prophecies. All these things were to Champlain fresh food for thought. He was in the land of the Iroquois: a conflict, a surprise, might be precipitated momentarily. The plan of advance was shifted. They moved now only under the cover of darkness, hiding themselves by day among the forest shadows, until they might span the rocky headland, famous in after-years as the site of old Fort Ticonderoga, by which they would gain the outlet of Lake George.

But that was not to be. After pushing their canoes through the night of the 28th of July, they again sought the deeps of the woods, this time on the west shore, not far from Crown Point. They slept the day out, and it was here Champlain dreamed a singular dream. He dreamed he saw the Iroquois drowning. He was trying to save them. The Algonquins advised him to let them drown; they were worthless baggage; he had better leave them to their misfortune. The Indians were believers in dreams. According to Brébeuf, among the Huron people dreams were accepted as an authority, as an oracle. A dreamer of reputation had great power, and there were among them interpreters of dreams. Parkman mentions in a note: "A man dreaming that he had killed his wife, made it an excuse for killing her in fact." They

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had a diversion, the *Ononhara*, "the game of dreams," which was made the occasion of the wildest and most extravagant excesses.

Champlain had been frequently questioned of his dreams by his savage companions, but he records the fact that but for this solitary instance his sleep had been a blank. When he related this dream they joyously accepted it as a most favorable omen, and with the coming nightfall the measured rhythm of their paddles merged into the slow silence of the dark. It was some two hours after sundown. They were off Ticonderoga, and on the dusky gray of the lake they descried objects, but indistinctly. They were in motion. For a moment the Algonquins stayed their blades. Only the dripping wet and the steady stroke of the Iroquois, who had taken the alarm and were making with the utmost exertion the shelter of the shore, were heard. Landing, the Iroquois began at once to build a barricade, amid a babel of noisy tumult. The Algonquins and French, lashing their canoes, kept to the lake. In turn they danced and whooped as best they could with nothing but a shell of birch-bark between them and the waters of the stream. By common consent the battle was deferred until daybreak. In the meantime yells of derision and contumely filled the night. As the dawn broke over the eastern hills the Frenchmen got into their breastplates, back-pieces, cuisses, and casques. Each hung his ammunition-box over his shoulder

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and buckled on his sword to pick up his arquebus, each in a canoe well concealed from the Iroquois. They landed at a distance from the Iroquois, who at once emerged from their stockade, covering themselves with stout shields of hide or wood, which Champlain describes as a sort of armor of twigs interwoven with something which resembled cotton. But let Champlain relate the story of that fight, the pivot on which his fortunes may be said to have turned:

“I saw them come out of their barricades, nearly two hundred men, tall and powerful, and move slowly toward us. . . . Our men advanced with the same order. They told me that the warriors with the three feathers were the leaders, . . . and that I should shoot to kill them. . . . Our men began to call me loudly; and to give me passage they opened into two ranks, and put me at the head, about twenty paces in advance. When I was about thirty paces from the enemy, the latter suddenly perceived me and halted and stared. . . . I put my arquebus to my cheek and aimed straight at one of the chiefs. At the shot two fell dead, and one of their companions was so wounded that he died shortly after. I had put four balls into my gun. When our men saw this shot they yelled so jubilantly that you could not have heard thunder. The Iroquois were dumfounded that two of their number should have been killed so promptly, as they wore a sort of armor, and carried arrow-proof

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shields. As I was reloading, one of my companions fired a shot from the woods. . . . Abandoning the field and their fort, the Iroquois dashed into the forest, and pursuing them I killed several others. Our savages also killed some, and took ten or twelve prisoners. The rest escaped with their wounded."

As insignificant as this event may appear, it was the initial conflict of a feud that was to become the heritage of the French as their Canadian settlements increased in number and consequence. It may be said to have continued for a century and a half, or until the French interest had ceased in Canada. After the Dutch came, who later replaced them in their settlements along the Hudson, the Iroquois Confederation allied themselves with the Dutch, and, later, the English. In that way the slender settlements within the territory of New York obtained a foothold by which the French were prevented from pushing their conquest further in that direction. By reason of this confederation of interest the French were prevented from cutting the connection between the New England colonies and those of Great Britain, which stretched southward along the coast through Maryland and Virginia, as far as the English occupation extended. It was by this conjunction the English were finally enabled to expel the French from North America, and, as well, appropriate to themselves those sections of country most to be preferred.

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The results of this primary movement on the part of Champlain were beyond his vision of forecasting; for the reason that, at that time, the only white colonists in North America outside of the Spanish interest were the French and a slender settlement of the English at Jamestown, which was founded some three years earlier. Long before the coming of Champlain the Spanish explorer had crossed the Isthmus of Darien; Cortez had made the conquest of Mexico; Pizarro had overcome Peru; and Spanish colonies had been established, as well, in other parts of Central and South America; while in the West Indies, Cuba, and Hayti the Spanish occupation dated from the advent of Columbus. Portugal had, as well, obtained a foothold in Brazil, and it is estimated that at the time of the fight of Champlain with the Iroquois at Ticonderoga, between the Gulf of Mexico and Cape Horn the entire white population would not exceed five thousand. Newport, Gosnold, and Captain John Smith had planted a settlement on the James River, while Spain had a coast settlement in Florida which had been founded by Menendez.

Outside the two settlements of the French and English already mentioned, those already existing had the sanction of the Pope; but these colonizations supported by papal power had no effect upon Henri iv., who was to continue a contest which had been begun by Francis i. in the earliest of his con-

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tests with the Spanish Charles, wherein he exhibited his Gallic wit when he desired the King of Spain to designate the clause in the will of the first man, Adam, by which the New World was divided between Spain and Portugal, to the utter exclusion of France. It was out of this controversy the first expedition of Cartier was born. The career of the French exploration from that time has been briefly noted, and, as has before been suggested, the history of France in the New World began when Champlain built his log huts under the sheltering shadows of the heights of Quebec, in 1608.

It was necessary to the furtherance of the plans of the French that the most friendly relations should be established between these colonists and their Indian neighbors, and Champlain, quick to grasp this idea, allied himself without hesitation with the Hurons and Algonquins, whose habitat lay to the northward of the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes — an alliance which not long after brought about the hostile expedition into the Iroquois country in 1609. In a way, it was a great day for France when Champlain defeated the savages of the Confederate Nations at Ticonderoga.

After the fight, Champlain, with his allies, made an immediate retreat to the lake. Three or four days later they had reached the mouth of the Richelieu, where the party divided, the Hurons and Algonquins taking their homeward way toward Ottawa, accompanied by their prisoners, with

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whom they were to deal after their fashion, later. As they separated, they desired Champlain to again visit them, and to lend them his assistance in their wars against their neighbors — a proposition which was no less pleasing to himself, and he accepted without hesitation. Those who remained with him, who were to accompany him down the St. Lawrence, were the Montagnais; and, together, they went to Tadoussac, where they were received in triumph by the Montagnais squaws. This may be considered as the closing of Champlain's connection with the settlements on the St. Lawrence for that year; for, he and Pontgravé having returned to France, the Canadian settlements were given over to the direction of Pierre Chauvin.

Early in the spring of the following year these two explorers had returned to the St. Lawrence. At this time Champlain had it in mind to extend his explorations to the Great Lakes, and thence northward toward Hudson Bay. As soon as possible after his arrival preparations were made for this expedition. Reaching the mouth of the Richelieu, June 19, 1610, he was informed that his allies were being attacked by a large force of Iroquois at no great distance away; and, joining the Montagnais, who brought him the information, Champlain, with four of his men, armed themselves, to plunge into the forest where the fight was going on. The result of this conflict was the utter defeat of the Iroquois, which gave him an added prestige

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with his savage allies; but his exploration seems to have stopped at this point, possibly because of his anxiety for the new colony, which again demanded his return to France. These anxieties were aggravated by the news of the king's assassination. When the knife of Ravallac had found the heart of Henri it as well struck the death-blow to the credit of De Monts at the French court, which not only meant financial ruin to the latter, but also the withdrawal of the royal support to his Canadian enterprises. The result of this was to send Champlain back to France; but the following May 13 he was again at Tadoussac, where he was making plans and surveying a site for a new post of advantage. Following out this design, he laid the foundations of the modern city of Montreal, to which he gave the name of Place Royale. It was in this year the French trading-ships began to come into the St. Lawrence in considerable numbers. Fur-traders had swarmed to Tadoussac and were scattered up and down the St. Lawrence, driving bargains with the savages. It was shortly after this that Champlain returned to France; but disappointment followed at his heels with singular pertinacity.

Recalling his activities along the St. Lawrence, he may be said to have been the Father of New France. He was not particularly interested in the fur trade, and it is evident he regarded it as hardly more than a means to an end. Through all these

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years his ambition apparently had been to discover a route to the Indies; likewise, to bring the savage within the pale of the Church; for while he had little consideration for his safety as an individual, he was in a no less degree anxious for the welfare of his soul.

Through the intervening years, down to 1632, the history of New France may be regarded as the biography of Champlain. In these years the growth of the three trading-stations of Three Rivers, Montreal, and Tadoussac was slow but sure. As to Quebec, its population of fifty or sixty persons was made up of fur-traders, priests, and a few families of small importance. It is evident from the story of the times that the fortunes of these settlements were in the hands of the merchants, whose only desire was to preserve their monopoly of the fur trade, and whose disposition was to retard the growth in population. There were few wives in the colony; and as for the settlers themselves, neglecting to cultivate the soil, their means of subsistence were the supplies that were brought over annually from France. Yet Champlain did not give up his ambition, and his annual voyage to France for assistance was seldom omitted.

The savages, who had been given the friendship and assistance of Champlain in 1617, had mustered a force of eight hundred warriors at Three Rivers, whose purpose was the annihilation of the French: a condition of affairs not anticipated by Champlain

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when he lent his arquebuses to the destruction of the Iroquois. This was followed in 1622 by a descent of the Iroquois upon the Quebec settlement. The only damage inflicted in this raid was the capture and burning at the stake of two Hurons. As for the fortunes of the colonies on the St. Lawrence, they were continually changing, by reason of the jealousies at home, and the transfer of trading monopolies in the New World, as the royal influence favored one interest or another.

The Récollets had erected a convent on the St. Charles, which in a way was fostered by the Church; and these priests may be said to have carried on their labors successfully, as five distinct missions extending from Acadia to the borders of Lake Huron had been by that time established. With the coming of Lalemante, Masse, and Brébeuf about 1626, who found asylum in St. Charles Convent, the Jesuits had effected an entrance into the Récollets' mission-field. Biard and Masse had landed in Acadia some fourteen years before. Eighteen years after the founding of Quebec, its population, men, women, and children, has been estimated as being one hundred five; and it is evident, from a survey of the influence which prevailed at that time, that so far as Champlain was concerned, this little settlement was not only ignored by those who had a monopoly of the trade, but was, as well, continually oppressed by monopolistic repression.

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At this time Plymouth had been settled, on the Massachusetts shore. The great Richelieu was the supreme influence in France, to whom may be accorded the inaugurating of a policy by which the naval and commercial power of France should be built up, and he proceeded at once to apply to the mismanagement of affairs in New France an effective reformation. The fur-trade privileges were annulled, and the Company of New France, of which Richelieu was the head, was established, in which were included many men of means and business acumen. To this organization was given a wholesale monopoly of trade with New France for the space of fifteen years, while the monopoly of the fur trade was vested in it as a perpetual privilege. Duties and imposts were removed. Trade with the colony was made unrestricted. As an evidence of his good will, the French king armed and equipped two ships of war, which he set apart for the company's services upon the condition that the company in the year 1628 should cause to be conveyed to the colonies two or three hundred artisans; that before 1643 they should increase the number of the colonists of both sexes to at least four thousand persons. A condition was also imposed that these settlers of New France should not only be French, but Catholics; and that for every settlement in the new country provision should be made for at least three priests.

On the face of it, the enterprise seemed feasible.

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As it turned out, it was otherwise; for the reason, as Parkman notes, that the Huguenots who desired to make their home on the new continent were not permitted to do so, and the Catholics to whom France looked for colonization material were not only satisfied, but desired, to remain in France. This was a fatal policy on the part of the French; for while the king was more generous in his favors to this trade company which had become the feudal proprietor of the French domain in North America, the building up of the French interest in the New World under these conditions was a futile effort. With the confirmation to the company of these vast privileges, the capital of which amounted to three hundred thousand livres, there is no doubt but Champlain, as one of the associates, felt that the great ambition of his life was finally to be accomplished. From this time on New France may be regarded as entirely under the domination of the Jesuit interest.

It had come to the knowledge of the new company that Quebec was on the verge of starvation; and four armed vessels, with transports, under the command of one of the associates, Roquemont, sailed out of the harbor of Dieppe laden with supplies and a contingent of new colonists, in April, 1628. About that time France had become involved in a war with England. The English had made some attempt to colonize Acadia, and had undertaken an expedition to acquire the French

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possessions in North America. This, however, was an enterprise undertaken privately by some London merchants, under the leadership of Gervase Kirke, a Derbyshire man who, some time before, had resided in Dieppe and had there taken to wife a French woman.

The king, being made aware of this enterprise, issued letters of marque to these adventurers, who were authorized to expel the French from their Canadian possessions. The Huguenots were interested in this, and many of them joined the expedition. Famished Quebec was awaiting supplies from France when two men came into the settlement with the news that six vessels were anchored in the harbor of Tadoussac. Two Jesuits went down stream in a canoe to verify the information, when they were met under the lee of the island of Orleans by two canoes in which were some Indians, who warned them to return immediately up river. In one of the Indian canoes was the commandant at Cape Tourmente, whose story to the priests was that a party of twenty had landed at his post from a vessel, which had the appearance of being French, who at once began to rob the colonists of their possessions, after which they set fire to the houses, killing the cattle, making prisoners; nor had he escaped a wound for himself. Champlain was at Quebec. The place was practically incapable of any defence, having only a small quantity of munitions on hand; but the men were assigned to their

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posts, and on the following afternoon a small Basque vessel sailed up this stream, bringing a message from Kirke to Champlain. This was the demand for the surrender of Quebec.

The Basques were dismissed with the courteous message to the English that Quebec would hold out to the last, from which moment the colonists were hourly expectant of the approach of the English. Instead, however, a small boat became visible down stream, which as it came nearer was discovered to contain ten Frenchmen, in charge of one Desdames, who brought the most welcome news that Roquemont, with the ships of the associates, would soon reach Quebec with reinforcements and an abundance of supplies. Roquemont's messenger was not so sure his commander would be able to reach Quebec; for, making his way up the river, he had discovered the English squadron sweeping out of Tadoussac harbor under full sail, heading down stream as if to intercept the French. He had escaped their observation by seeking the shelter of the overhanging foliage of the shore. The English were hardly out of sight before the sound of big guns drifted up the river. So Quebec waited, until some neighboring savages brought them word that the French transports had been captured by the English and sent to the bottom of the St. Lawrence River. The English, however, unwilling to risk an attack on Quebec by reason of the boldness of Champlain's reply, amused themselves with cruis-

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ing about the Gulf Coast in search of such plunder as they might derive from the French fishing-vessels.

At Quebec the months wore on until the spring days came. The daily portion of food issued to the men, women, and children had been reduced to seven ounces of pounded peas. In May the peas were gone, and they began to live upon roots and such other means of subsistence as could be discovered in the woods and fields.¹ July 19, a savage who had his hut on the St. Charles River came to Champlain with the news that three ships were sailing up the channel of Orleans. They were English, and when they had anchored off the town a summons of surrender was made, which resulted in the fall of Quebec, after which Kirke sailed away for England, taking Champlain along with him. After an interview with the French ambassador at London, a promise was obtained from the King of England that New France should be relinquished to the French Crown. So it came about, on July 5,

¹ Of the roots of the wild plants, the bulbous Solomon's-seal was most sought after. It is known in New England locally as the wild bean. It has trailing habit; its flower is of a deep lavender color and is not only curiously shaped, but delicately beautiful. It is found most frequently growing in the edge of the sand on the borders of fresh-water ponds. The root-stem burrows into the soil deeply, running straight down, to which is attached a sweetly edible bulb the size of a filbert.

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1632, Emery de Caen dropped anchor before Quebec with a command to reoccupy in the name of France; for the accomplishment of which he was to have a year's monopoly of the fur trade. At the expiration of that time his interests were to be turned over to the One Hundred Associates of New France.

It has been somewhat of a question as to the reason which prevailed in the mind of the English king by which he was induced so readily to return to France so easy a conquest; but the treaty was signed, and Caen had landed with the Jesuits Jeune and De la Noue. When they had mounted to the rock of Quebec they came upon the old fort and a stone cottage in the midst of a vegetable-garden. It was not until the following spring of 1633, in May, that Champlain, newly commissioned by the French Minister Richelieu, had resumed his command at Quebec in the interests of the One Hundred Associates. Champlain found the Jesuits here, who were delighted when the heretical Caen had finally relinquished the possession of the place into the hands of the Catholic Champlain.¹

From this on, the Jesuits were the masters of the situation; for the Récollets were seen no more in Canada. Quebec was to become a powerful mission city, from which would radiate the influence which sought out the deepest shadows of the forest

¹ Le Jeune, *Relation*, 1633, p. 26 (Quebec, 1858).

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for the regeneration of the savage. The privations and the perils of the Jesuits make a marvelous tale. For many years after, the history of New France was the history of the Jesuits.

Champlain, at his last coming, had passed two years in anxious solicitude for the success of Quebec when, in 1635, at the age of sixty-eight, he was stricken with paralysis. A lingering illness of two and one-half months, and Champlain was dead. His Hall of State was a chamber in the fort at Quebec. He was buried by the people for whom his last care was exercised, and over the place where they laid him they built a modest tomb.

For twenty-seven years Champlain had been identified with this particular colony. No discouragement had cooled his enthusiasm, or shaken for a moment his intrepidity. He was undoubtedly, in his way, the greatest man of his time. He was a prophet without honor, upon whose vision were limned pictures to which his contemporaries were blinded. He was controlled by a policy at once bold and direct, which was fortified by a patience which knew no weariness; and while he has been open to the charge of credulity, he was less that and more of a dreamer. He was a soldier from his boyhood up, and the maxims of his life were those of a brave and honest man. If one would search for the proof of this, it is to be found in the story of his voyages, in which he writes little of himself,

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and only of that which seemed to him of importance as a matter of observation.

Quebec regained, France once more flew her white banner from the old fort that crowned its towering rock. In 1612, Louis XIII. had given to Madame de Guercheville and the Jesuits all America from the St. Lawrence to Florida, claiming the right by the discovery made by Verrazano, and wholly ignoring the voyages of the Cabots and the English who had already gained a foothold in Virginia. De Monts had been granted the vast stretch of those lands running southward from the St. Lawrence to Chesapeake Bay.

Following these generous dispositions of a practically unexplored New World wilderness, English James I. made over, in 1621, to Sir William Alexander the peninsula of Nova Scotia, to which was added later a grant of the "River and Gulf of Canada," including a continental strip three hundred miles in width.¹ Here was sufficient cause for dissension in the New World, which never came to much — perhaps for the reason that the earlier settlements in the interests of the parties to these grants were in themselves so obscurely unimportant. Up to the death of Champlain they were hardly more than isolated trading-posts, and yet in a small way they were to become the source of international

¹Sylvester, *Maine Pioneer Settlements*, vol. v., pp. 341-345. Biart's *Relation*.

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contention as the years brought them into larger prominence as commercial factors. The De Monts' enterprise on the Bay of Fundy had succumbed to the vacillating policy of the French court; Argall had nipped in the bud the Jesuitic ambitions of Madame de Guercheville at Mont Desert;¹ while Biencourt — after his father's death known as Poutrincourt — maintained a wavering foothold at Acadia, carrying on a small fishing and fur trade by which he was able to establish a fort at Cape Sable — a rude and romantic life into which had come, some years before, a lad whose father was attached to the later Poutrincourt, with the rank of lieutenant. The father was Claude de la Tour.² The son was known as Charles St. Etienne de la Tour. It was to the latter that Bienville, at his decease, gave his Acadian holdings.

It was against the younger De la Tour that Sir William Alexander made his first movement of aggression. The elder La Tour had been captured by Kirke in the latter's Quebec expedition. Kirke took his prisoner to England, where the elder La Tour renounced his allegiance to his native country, married one of the English Queen's ladies of honor, and was made a baronet of Nova

¹*Publications of the Prince Society*, 1873.

²The La Tours originated in the neighborhood of Evreux, in Normandy. The surname was Turgis. Parkman suggests that La Tour was taken from the family estate, which was not uncommon under the old régime.

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Scotia and invested with the Order of the Garter. He was afterward sent to Acadia as the messenger of Sir William to the younger La Tour, with an offer of similar dignities if he would join the English interest. Young La Tour's reply was not favorable to the project, whereat an attack was made upon the fort, which resulted in a repulse of the English. The younger La Tour played rather a mixed part¹ from that on, who, by the permission of the English patentee, established himself on the St. John River, where he built a fort in the neighborhood of the present city of St. John.

As has been noted, Canada had fallen into the hands of the English, only to be shortly after relinquished to the French by the treaty of St. Germain. The Frenchman Razilly was at Acadia in 1632, to whom the Scotch colony established by Alexander at Port Royal at once gave possession of that place. Razilly brought along with him Charles de Menou d'Aunay Charnisay² as his confidential representative, to whom was entrusted the command of the English and Scotch settlements established under the patronage of Alexander.

Acadia was once more under the French domination. The younger La Tour went to France to

¹*Patent from Sir William Alexander to Claude and Charles de la Tour, 30 April, 1630.*

Williamson's *History of Maine*, vol. i., p. 246.

²This name is rendered by most New England writers as D'Aulney or D'Aulnay.

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strengthen his position, where he was successful; for he brought back with him the official title of Lieutenant-General for Louis XIII. at Fort Lomeron and the adjacent country. He was also made commander, for the Company of New France, of Cape Sable. Razilly died in 1635, leaving D'Aunay in command. The latter established himself at Port Royal,¹ and it was not long before D'Aunay and La Tour came into collision. Their dispute came to blows, finally. Each claimed the land of the other. They laid aside their animosities for a little.

La Tour in 1633 made a raid on the trading-house at Machias, but not without bloodshed. He confiscated the stores and furs and carried the three survivors to Cape Sable. Two years after, D'Aunay raided the trading-house at Pentagoët, which he appropriated in the name of the king, sending the English traders about their business. This was the beginning of the French occupancy of the

¹Port Royal was a colony of more importance than any other in Canada at this time. In a single year the Indians are said to have brought in three thousand moose-skins, besides beaver and other finer furs. D'Aunay brought over considerable numbers of emigrants. He fortified his fort with cannon, built ships, and levied soldiers. He is reported to have had three hundred fighting men at Port Royal; and on his vessels and fort his armament consisted of sixty cannon. Besides Port Royal, he had two or three smaller settlements up and down the bay.

Parkman, *Old Régime*, p. 13.

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Penobscot River, where St. Castin was later to establish his domain.

D'Aunay had asked La Tour to assist him in this expedition, but the latter had coldly declined, refusing to recognize D'Aunay's jurisdiction in the matter. About 1638 D'Aunay went to France, to return later, bringing a young Frenchwoman along as his bride, Jeanne Motin. He set up his house-keeping at Port Royal. La Tour hoped he was well rid of his enemy, and, doubly incensed at his return, he went to Port Royal, where he committed the overt act by inciting his Indians to kill one of D'Aunay's soldiers, who was out in a canoe with a Capuchin friar.¹ The friar escaped with the news of the outrage to D'Aunay, which resulted in a dead-line being established between Port Royal and St. Jean. La Tour had sent to France for a wife. His agent Desjardins completed his errand by sending over to his principal a mettlesome French maid, Marie Jacquelin.

D'Aunay learned the Plymouth people were to send an expedition against Pentagoët. He at once despatched to the place a reinforcement of nine

¹ D'Aunay was a Churchman, while La Tour was neither Protestant nor Catholic. The former was a favorite with the priests, who were singing his praises in their letters home — and they wrote not a few.

It was not singular, from this reason, that La Tour was unable to interest the Jesuit Richelieu in his behalf.

Letter of Father Ignace, Capuchin, Aoust, 1653.

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men. These were captured by La Tour and carried to St. Jean. Four months later D'Aunay armed two small vessels to set out for the Penobscot River, with further supplies of men and provisions for Pentagoët. It was on this expedition he learned of La Tour's interference. On his return he met La Tour, with two pinnaces. They at once engaged. One of D'Aunay's boats was disabled, but he kept up the fight until he compelled La Tour's surrender, afterward taking his prisoners to Port Royal, among whom were La Tour, his wife, and his agent Desjardins. Compelling them to give bond to keep the peace, they referred their dispute to the French courts. La Tour was ordered to France, and his authority taken from him; but he clung to his Acadian retreat, ignoring the royal mandate, where he maintained his prestige of commandant. D'Aunay was instructed to apprehend the recalcitrant La Tour; but the king sent so few soldiers (six) with this order that D'Aunay had no other recourse than to communicate his instructions, with an offer of free passage to France. La Tour would not listen, whereupon D'Aunay went to France to make a personal report of his failure. With an order that La Tour be brought to France, D'Aunay at once sailed for Acadia, and in August, 1642, dropped anchor in the harbor of St. Jean. Messengers were despatched to La Tour; but when they attempted to read the order of the king La Tour possessed himself of the royal decree, made

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prisoners of the three envoys, and the four sailors who kept them company, whom he kept in close confinement for a year or more.¹

From this on, La Tour was a rebel. His position was a perilous one. His ship from Desjardins, his agent at Rochelle, was at the mouth of the river, which news reached La Tour at St. Jean.² It was the *St. Clement*, with one hundred forty Huguenots aboard, with an abundance of stores and munitions for offence and defence. The blockade established by the two armed vessels of D'Aunay, and a pinnace, prevented their ascent of the St. John. La Tour, with his wife, slipped through the blockade and, reaching the deck of the *St. Clement*, got to Boston safely. By midsummer of 1643 La Tour was again at St. Jean. D'Aunay had returned to

¹ Menou, *L'Acadie colonisée*.

² Parkman says that the site of Fort St. Jean (St. John, or La Tour) is matter of debate. Opposite the city of St. John is the suburb of Carleton, where are the remains of earthworks supposed to be the relic of La Tour's ancient fort. Parkman doubts its antiquity. He regards it as of a later day, as here were defences as late as the Seven Years' War. The site of Fort St. Jean has been located by others at Jemsec, seventy miles up river; but there are rapids here which would prevent the passage of a ship of any considerable size. Mr. Ganong locates La Tour's fort at Portland Point, at the mouth of the St. John, on its easterly side, which appears to one as more reasonable.

Parkman, *Old Régime*, p. 39, note.

It was a far better trading-station than was Port Royal.

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Port Royal, to shortly after sail for France, where he pushed his claims against La Tour in the courts. Madame la Tour had gone to France in her husband's behalf the following year, on the *St. Clement*, where she was charged with being an accessory to her husband's default, and was enjoined not to leave the kingdom. She, however, escaped to England, and took an English ship whose master had promised to drop her at St. Jean; but, refusing to fulfil his contract, he carried her to Boston. For this the master of the ship was mulcted in two thousand pounds' damages by the Court of Massachusetts, which he was ordered to pay to Madame la Tour. She was also permitted by the Massachusetts authorities to charter three armed vessels then in Boston Harbor to take her to St. Jean — a voyage that was safely and expeditiously accomplished.

Returned from France, D'Aunay was coasting alongshore armed with the final order of the king for the apprehension of La Tour and of his wife. What he was unable to accomplish by force he determined to reach by finesse. He came into the mouth of the St. John, and, getting into communication with La Tour's servitors, offered pardon and full payment of wages if they would join his interest. It was not long after this that the St. Jean Récollets, with nine soldiers, left La Tour's service and set out for Port Royal. They informed D'Aunay that La Tour had gone to Boston, leaving his

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wife with a guard of forty-five soldiers. It was D'Aunay's opportunity, and he made use of it so well that, after due preparation, he landed two cannon and after an unsatisfactory parley began an attack, making a breach in the wall, when a general assault was ordered. Notwithstanding the intrepid defence of Madame la Tour, she was overcome by the greater force of D'Aunay, and made prisoner. Of the soldiers, D'Aunay hanged some and pardoned others. With a rope about her fair neck, Madame la Tour was compelled to gaze upon the hanging of her soldiers.¹ D'Aunay began the renovation of the fort, a few weeks after which Madame la Tour "fell ill with spite and rage," which was soon followed by her death.

When the news of the capture of the fort (1647) reached France the king was delighted, apparently, and promised to send a ship to D'Aunay. The ship was forgotten, but D'Aunay was confirmed in his authority over Acadia, which he extended even to Virginia. His resources were practically exhausted in his efforts to develop Acadia, his outlay being placed as high as eight hundred thousand livres. It was a deal of money to spend on a wilderness. With La Tour alive and dominating the trade on the St. John, it was a serious drain upon D'Aunay's profits; but with La Tour dispossessed, the future held something for which to strive further.

¹ Parkman, *Old Régime*, p. 38.

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D'Aunay was not to enjoy his success in ousting his rival. One May night in 1650 (it was the twenty-fourth day) the wind and rain drove across the harbor basin. D'Aunay and his valet were feeling their way over the turbulent waters not far from the mouth of the Annapolis when, in the obscurity of the storm, their birch canoe was overturned. They clung to its slippery bottom until D'Aunay had perished from exposure to the chill of the water. The valet got to shore with his dead master, where they were found by some of the neighboring savages. D'Aunay was buried in the Capuchin chapel of Port Royal.

With the death of his successful rival, La Tour made an effort to regain the favor of the king, and in 1651 the decree of 1647 against him was reversed. He was taken again into the kingly confidence, and he had returned to St. Jean, Governor and Lieutenant-General in New France, where he tormented the widow of D'Aunay into marrying him. She was no doubt assisted in arriving at her conclusion by the complications in which D'Aunay's estate seemed hopelessly involved, once in the hands of Le Borgne and his confederates, who later absorbed the larger share of the fur trade of Acadia. D'Aunay's widow, being left with eight children¹ to care for, was impoverished, and the culmination of

¹ When the young D'Aunays had grown up they developed the soldierly traits of their father by going to France, where

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all this was her unconditional surrender to La Tour.

To follow the fortunes of Acadia another step: in 1654 Major Robert Sedgwick, who had served under Cromwell, took advantage of the war between France and England. Commissioned by the Protector, he led an expedition against Acadia, and the French possessions from the Penobscot to Nova Scotia were again in the hands of the English. The Treaty of Breda (1667) restored these lands to France.

It is necessary at this point to revert to the settlements along the St. Lawrence. As late as 1653 the importance of Montreal lay chiefly in its utility to the French traders. Its population was hardly more than has been noticed upon the death of Champlain. It was a slender colony, weakly garrisoned, surrounded by treacherous savages, for the second time almost on the verge of starvation, and without prospect of assistance from the French government. It may be regarded at this time as the frontier post of the French occupation on the St. Lawrence. In the summer of this year, under the influence of the Jesuits, the Canadian settlements up and down the river became the scenes of continual religious processions, made lugubrious by impossible vows, fastings, and various forms of

they were engaged in the Wars of Louis XIV. and were killed. Three of the daughters became nuns. The story of the other is not related.

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penance. The outlook at Montreal, especially, was hopeless. The Iroquois had declared war against the French, and were waiting for an opportunity to engage in wholesale butcheries. A horde of two hundred Iroquois made an attack upon the place, to be defeated by a party of twenty-six Frenchmen, which number comprised fully one half of the male population of Montreal. The outcome of this battle was regarded as a miracle.

Three Rivers was practically destroyed up to the palisades of its fort. That this place was preserved is to be remarked from the fact that the attacking party comprised no less than six hundred Iroquois. The salvation of the place undoubtedly was assured by a detachment of thirty-two men from Quebec, who broke through the savage cordon to gain the Three Rivers fort, which so intimidated the Iroquois that they withdrew.¹

At this time Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers may be said to have comprised the province of Canada, and at this particular time the existence of these settlements may be regarded as dependent

¹At Three Rivers the Indians had succeeded in killing the commandant, Du Plessis Bochart. The savages were so sure of their final success that they brought their families along, intending to make the French settlements their permanent habitats.

Parkman, *Old Régime*, p. 55, note.

Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettre du 6 Sept., 1653.

Le Mercier, *Relation*, 1653, p. 3.

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upon the savage whim of the Iroquois. Had their onslaughts been more courageously aggressive, or extended over a longer period, the ultimate result would have been the annihilation of the French up and down the St. Lawrence. But this was not to be; for on June 26 a party of sixty Onondaga Iroquois appeared before the Montreal fort, announcing that they came upon an errand of peace, and they sent into the fort a deputation of warriors to the French, all of whom were naked and without weapons. The French were disposed to make prisoners of these savages; but they desisted, regarding it as another one of those miracles which so far had preserved them in the midst of their enemies. Presents were exchanged on this occasion, and the Iroquois¹ departed, pleased with their reception. These were followed by a deputation from the Oneidas, with whom a peace was entered into. The vicinity of Montreal was still infested by the Mohawks. Three Rivers was still an object of their savage scrutiny, until one of their sachems, with four of his

¹ *Jesuits in North America*, p. 542.

Among the five nations comprising the Iroquois was the Mohawk. It was the easternmost of these savage peoples. The name signifies "eaters of live meat." Their villages were stretched along the Mohawk River, and they are known by many names, the most familiar of which is "the Maquas." The Oneidas, Cayugas, Senecas, and Onondagas made up this famous confederation. These latter nations were located about the Great Lakes.

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warriors, had been captured by a party of friendly Hurons, when, realizing that they had been left by their confederates to fight the French alone, they sent a peace deputation.

A grand peace council was convened at Quebec, where not only an exchange of wampum belts took place, but an exchange of hostages was made. This terminated the war with the Iroquois. It was, however, only a question of time when it would be renewed. The Iroquois were fickle. They were also excellent politicians; for it became evident later that the object of this peace was really the destruction of the Hurons, who had been taken under the protection of the French. The Huron Colony was to be the prize, and between the Mohawks and Onondagas a supreme jealousy had arisen as to which of the two nations should secure it.

The plan of the Onondagas was no less perilous to the Hurons, but it was more astute. The towns of the former were crowded with Huron captives who had been converted by the Jesuits; and, to further their purpose, they asked the French to establish a colony in the Onondaga country. With the French the acceptance or refusal of this plan was a matter of policy. To accept would place the larger body of the Hurons within the power of the Onondagas, while to decline would undoubtedly bring on another war with the savages. The Jesuits were inclined to the project. Their mission among the Hurons practically destroyed, they were

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not averse to the building up of another, if by so doing they could annex the Iroquois, as Parkman says, "to the Kingdoms of Heaven and France." By so doing, not only would a line of defence be established against the Dutch and English, but the Jesuit power would be greatly enhanced.

The first step toward the accomplishment of this purpose was the sending of Father Simon le Moyne among the Onondagas. Thoroughly acquainted with the language of the people and their customs, he departed from Montreal on his mission. This was displeasing to the Mohawks, who regarded it as a slight, and a runner was sent after Le Moyne with directions for him to extend his visit to the Mohawks. The runner was unable to overtake Le Moyne, who, taking his journey up the river, finally arrived by way of the Onondaga stream at the capital of that nation, where he was most generously and joyously received. His embassy accomplished, he set out upon his return to Quebec, accompanied by a mixed party of Hurons, Onondagas, and Algonquins. On the way¹ they were attacked by the Mohawks, and the entire party was killed, with the exception of a single Onondaga and the Jesuit priest. This was a sav-

¹On Le Moyne's return journey the savages showed him a large spring which they said was possessed of a bad spirit. The priest tasted the water, boiled some of it to obtain a deposit, which he found to be a fine salt. He had discovered the salt springs of Onondaga.

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age declaration of war on the part of the Iroquois against the Onondagas.

The Erie savages were engaged in a war with some of their neighbors, in which the Mohawks took no part; but the latter began a series of depredations in which a Jesuit priest was killed. In an attack made a few days later on Montreal they were so thoroughly whipped that another peace was broached, in which they agreed not to molest the French, but reserved the right to continue their war against their hated rivals to the friendship of the French,—the Hurons and the Algonquins. These latter were the first savage allies of Champlain, and the French were pledged to protect them; but, unable to do more than preserve their own safety, they accepted this offer of the Iroquois, which was to be broken by the latter with the first opportunity. Le Moyne was sent into the Mohawk country as a peace envoy. He had inserted his head into the jaws of the wolf; but, being most providentially preserved, he was finally able to reach Montreal.

This was followed by a deputation of Onondagas to Quebec, where another council was held, in which the savages demanded that the French establish among their people a colony. Lauson was then governor. Yielding to their solicitation, two Jesuits, Chaumonot and Dablon, were sent among the Onondagas to make a survey of the situation. While the Jesuit Chaumonot remained at Onon-

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daga his companion. Dablon, returned to Montreal. The situation was made clear. The French must establish a colony at Onondaga without delay. At this time the political influence in Canada was Jesuitic, and it was upon this order the expense of establishing the colony would fall — estimated at seven thousand livres. This pious expedition was made up of Major Zachery du Puys, an officer at the Quebec fort, with ten soldiers. These, with four Jesuits and a small contingent of Frenchmen,—some thirty or forty,—were to be the nucleus of the new colony, to whom Lauson made a grant of one hundred square leagues of Iroquois country.

The Mohawks were on the war-path. Informed of the departure of the French, their jealousy of the Onondagas impelled them to lay an ambushade at Point St. Croix, some three hundred miles above Quebec. The French were allowed to pass in safety; but as the canoes bearing the Onondagas, Senecas, and Hurons came up, the Mohawks discharged their guns among the unsuspecting savages, after which they fell upon them in a body. One of the Jesuit lay brothers was wounded. Such Indians as they were able to capture they bound and whipped. When the Onondagas protested their identity, their assailants replied that they had taken them for Hurons, after which they were allowed to go without further injury.¹

¹ Le Moyne, *Relation*, 1657, p. 9.

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After this the Mohawks, to the number of three hundred, took to the river; slipped past Quebec in the night to ambush themselves on the Island of Orleans, where they made an attack upon the Hurons as they came to their corn-fields in the morning, of whom they killed six and captured nearly one hundred. Those of the Hurons who escaped took refuge in their fort. This was on May 19, 20, 1656. After this the Mohawks paraded up the river in front of Quebec, their canoes loaded with Huron prisoners, many of whom were Huron maids; yet, in spite of this insolence, the cannon of the Quebec fort were silent, while the colonists were apparently paralyzed with terror. An attack at that time by the Mohawks would have been successful; but the only damage committed was the plundering of some of the cabins on the outskirts of the town, whose inhabitants sought shelter in the fort. The Mohawks carried their prisoners into their own country, while the Onondaga colonists kept their way up stream in ignorance of these depredations, to later arrive at their journey's end, the Lake of Onondaga.

It was a perilous task that had been undertaken in this direction by the Jesuits,—to convert the Iroquois, and to oppose the purposes of the Dutch, whose settlements were creeping slowly up the Hudson. The peril in the situation lay in the fact that De Puys and his party were entirely at the mercy of these inscrutable savages. The Mo-

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hawks were still carrying on their war against the Hurons. They had butchered the Jesuit Garreau on his way up the Ottawa; and in the following spring (1657) the Iroquois were again at Quebec for the purpose of making more captives among the Hurons, the remnant of whom, after the raid of the previous year, had pitched their wigwams within the limits of Quebec, immediately under the ramparts of the fort, to surround their settlement with a strong palisade.

Lauson had been succeeded by his son Charny. It was of him the Mohawks demanded the surrender of the Hurons, in which they were utterly successful. Not having sufficient canoes of their own to carry away their captives, they constructed others into which they loaded the unfortunate Hurons. The remnant of this tribe left at Quebec, — for the reason that the Mohawks were not able to take all of them in their canoes,— numbering some fifty, left Quebec for Onondaga. In July they had ascended the river as far as Montreal; and, still proceeding up river, on the evening of August 3 they drew to shore, where they made their camp for the night. From Montreal they had been accompanied by an Onondaga chief, who had taken this occasion to make himself odious to one of the Huron maids, a Catholic convert. At this encampment he continued his advances, and, becoming angered by the refusal of the young woman to accept them, he buried his tomahawk in her head;

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after which the Onondagas in the party made a murderous assault upon the helpless Hurons, of whom seven were killed, plundering the remainder.

When these reached Onondaga some of the Catholic Indians were burned at the stake; nor was this torture confined to the men, but, as well, included women and children.¹ These were indeed perilous times to the French, whose pusillanimity had become the object of derision among their savage enemies.

In the neighborhood of Montreal three Frenchmen had been killed by the savages. Charny having turned priest, D'Ailleboust had undertaken the governorship. This latter was a soldier. Twelve Iroquois were captured, who were held as hostages; whereupon Quebec was visited by an Iroquois embassy whose errand was to demand the release of the prisoners, which was met with a curt refusal. One of the Jesuits, writing of the Mohawk method of attack, says, "They approach like foxes, attack like lions, and disappear like birds."

¹ Lafitan says the Iroquois women had a council of their own, which was conducted much as those of the Iroquois warriors. The conclusions arrived at by them were presented to the council of the chiefs by a woman orator. They had their female chiefs or leaders; and this writer further says that in the torture of their captives by the Iroquois their women were consulted, as they were considered to be more ingenious in their devices for the tormenting of such unfortunates as fell into their hands.

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It was evident that at the Onondaga Mission a crisis was at hand. A converted Onondaga on his death-bed confirmed the rumor that the Iroquois were about to make another descent upon the French settlements, through whom the whole plot was revealed. This foray, planned to take place as the winter closed, was delayed by the fact that the Iroquois hostages were still in custody at Quebec, which place, being notified of the intention of the Iroquois, sent messengers for the recall of all the priests among the outlying missions. Du Puys and the Jesuits at Onondaga laid their plan to escape. Having only eight canoes, in the garret of their mission-house they constructed two flat boats of considerable size, each of which would accommodate fifteen men. These constructed, it remained to carry out the remainder of their plan, which was to give a great feast which was known among the Iroquois as the Medicine Feast, the guests of which were obliged to devour all and whatever might be set before them, the host taking no part in the banquet, except to absolve his guests from further eating when their gluttonous exercise had reached the limit of their capacity. After the feast, at which the Indians gorged themselves to repletion,—many of whom had begged to be let off from further eating,—the savages being stupefied by their excesses and helpless in their sleep or lethargy, the French withdrew to the shore of the lake, where many of their comrades had already embarked and

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were awaiting them with breathless anxiety. They were soon lost in the obscurity of the night. Reaching the outlet of the lake, they made a swift passage down the Oswego, so that when the dawn came the mission of Onondaga had been left far behind.¹

When the savages awoke from their gluttonous stupor the only sign of French civilization visible was a flock of hens and some dogs. When they had broken the palisade which surrounded the huts of the Frenchmen they were sure that the "black-robos" had taken wings and, like birds, had departed in the air. Unconscious of the amazement of the Onondagas at this sudden flight, the fugitives bent every energy to escape, until they had passed the rapids of the Oswego River and had swung into the St. Lawrence, losing three men, who were drowned in the rapids. They arrived at Montreal April 3. Twenty days later they were at Quebec. In this story is comprised the history of the Onondaga Mission.

July 2, 1659, a ship lay at her moorings in the harbor of Rochelle. Her decks were crowded with emigrants for Canada. She was known as the *St. Andre*, and, unknown to these voyagers, was infected with a contagious fever, having for two years been in the marine service as a hospital. Among

¹ *Second Voyage Made in the Upper Country of the Iroquois*, in *Publications of the Prince Society*, 1885.

Relations des Jesuits, 1657, 1658.

Dollier de Casson, *History of Montreal*.

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these emigrants were two Jesuits, Vignal and Le Maitre; and not less conspicuous were two female groups habited as nuns, who were in charge of Marguerite Bourgeoys¹ and Jeanne Mance.² These latter left Montreal for France some time before, and were now on their return. With them were six others of their own sex. The former, Marguerite Bourgeoys, was the foundress of a school for female children at Montreal; while the latter was the directress of the Montreal Hospital. It was a fateful voyage, for out of its living cargo some eight or ten had been buried at sea; but, sailing up the St. Lawrence, they had finally anchored under the shadows of Quebec.

Montreal thoroughly Jesuitic, its bishop and Jesuits were not over-anxious for the company of the La Flèche nuns. The former were in no sympathy with the Sulpicians, to which order the newly arrived sisters belonged, for the reason that in the place of the latter their desire was to substitute nuns from the Hôtel Dieu of Quebec, through whom their control would be perpetuated.³ Montreal at

¹ Faillon, *Life of Marguerite Bourgeoys*.

² *Ibid*, *Life of Jeanne Mance*.

³ *Ibid*, *Vie de Mlle. Mance*.

This Sister relates a miracle of which she was the beneficiary. Those were the days of miracles and miraculous preservations. In the winter of 1657 she fell on the ice, breaking her right arm and at the same time dislocating her

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this time was comprised of fifty families, with enough unmarried men to count their number to one hundred sixty male population, after twenty years of fur trade. The entire population of Canada at this time has been estimated at less than three thousand, whose three cities of refuge from the incursions of the savages were Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec. The home government apparently cared very little for its colonies; for after so many years Montreal was hardly more than a mission, in which the dominant influence was the Church.

The ruling influence at this time was vested in Laval. He regarded himself in Canada as the Pope's vicar. His sole ambition was to place the supremacy of the Church over all the powers of earth. Arbitrary and domineering, accustomed to

right wrist. The surgeon set the broken bones, but neglected the wrist. In time this member became useless. Olier, the founder of St. Sulpice, had died. His heart had been preserved in a leaden casket. With Marguerite Bourgeoys she took ship for Rochelle. From thence they went to Paris, and there the pilgrims sought St. Sulpice, where the priests kept Olier's heart as a precious memory. The leaden casket was brought out for them to see, when Mademoiselle Mance was inspired to touch it gently with her withered arm, breathing a supplication to the departed Olier for his intercession. The effect was immediate. From that hour her arm was fully restored. The Sulpicians are reputed to have had the Sister's relation of this wonderful miracle written with her once withered right hand.

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austerities and mortifications, his conscience had become opaque to everything which opposed the ecclesiastical ascendancy. He was an adept in human nature; and while not yet Bishop of Canada — only the apostolic vicar — his administration depended entirely upon his acceptability to his superiors. Canada at this time was upon the threshold of new experiences. Its early governors had been thoroughly saturated with the missionary spirit, beginning with Champlain, whose greatest desire was the conversion of the Indians. Montmagny was half priest, and D'Ailleboust was pious, even to the point of insanity; but the civil government was about to assert itself in this colony. As one historian has remarked, "The epoch of the martyrs and apostles was passing away, and the man of the sword and the man of the gown — the soldier and the legist — were threatening to supplant the eternal sway of priests;" or, as Laval might have said, "The hosts of this world were beleaguering the sanctuary, and he was called of Heaven to defend it."

The influence of Mazarin was on the wane. The statesman Colbert was in the French saddle. It was in the summer of 1658 that Vicomte d'Argenson assumed the governorship of Canada. D'Ailleboust had been churchwarden, *ex officio*, and D'Argenson, who had assumed the same office, on his arrival was challenged by Laval as to his right to hold this office. This led to a dispute which re-

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sulted in a compromise, to be again opened by a controversy over a sentence of Laval's against a heretic, to which decree the governor had excepted. A series of undignified quarrels resulted in D'Argenson drawing up a memorial as to his conduct in the observance of certain ritualistic matters. His coming had been observed by some considerable festivity, and with his contention as the acknowledged representative of the Church, he found himself laboring under difficulties, one of which was the independence of Montreal, which he describes as "a place which makes so much noise, but which is of such small account."

His chief complaint against the Montrealists was their disposition to monopolize the fur trade, which seemed to him to invite a civil war, which most of all things he wished to avoid; but there came a time when his patience with these people was well-nigh exhausted; when his nervous energies were strained almost to the point of breaking. His expenses exceeded his salary; and in regard to this he writes, "I have only two thousand crowns a year and I have been forced to run into debt to the Company for an equal amount." His estimate of the number of warriors the Iroquois could bring into the field against the French was twenty-four hundred, and he had begged of the company, unavailingly, to send him one hundred men who could be turned into soldiers or laborers, as the necessity required. The company had not found its Canadian

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investments profitable, and its chief anxiety was to collect its dues; nor did it show any disposition to render aid to the Canadians, but, instead, hounded D'Argenson for the thousand pounds of beaver-skins which the colonists were to pay as the annual tribute for the emoluments of the fur trade, which had been rendered practically worthless by the constant incursions of the Iroquois. In his perplexities he exclaims in one of his letters: "I see no reason for staying here any longer; when I came to this country I hoped to enjoy a little repose, but I am doubly deprived of it, on one hand by enemies without, and incessant petty disputes within. . . . The profits of the fur-trade have been so reduced that all of the inhabitants are in the greatest poverty." Affairs with him had come to a climax. In constant friction with the head of the Church, here, when he began to entertain the idea of retiring from his office to return to France, Laval was not sorry to hear of it.

Baron Dubois d'Avaugour was his successor, a soldier who had seen forty years of active service. His reception was different from that of D'Argenson, for he declined all ceremony. It was evident from the beginning that he was biased against Laval, yet he wished to be on kindly terms with the Jesuits. He appointed some of them upon his council, whom he afterward dismissed as being too closely allied to the interests of Laval, with the result that the quarrel between Laval and D'Argen-

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son was revived, which resulted in the recall of Avaugour. On his voyage he wrote a memorial to Colbert, in which he commended New France to the attention of the king in these words: "The St. Lawrence is the entrance to what may be made the greatest city in the world." And he went on to say that "no less than three thousand soldiers should be despatched to the colony, who, after three years of service, should be discharged to become settlers; that in those three years Quebec could be made into an impregnable fortress; the Iroquois could be subdued; a strong fort could be built at Albany, and an outlet by way of the Hudson River could be made for the French to the sea. The heretics could be driven out, and ultimately America become a second French empire." He alludes to the charges against him, which he balances by his forty years of faithful service to the Crown. Of Laval and the Jesuits he concludes: "By reason of the respect I owe their cloth, I will rest content, Monseigneur, with assuring you that I have not only served the King with fidelity, but also by the Grace of God, with good success considering the means at my disposal."

This memorial of Avaugour's was not without its effect, for while the Company of New France had accomplished very little for itself, either by way of profit or reputation, it had begun about this time to take a larger interest in Canadian matters; so that it sent out as agent, with supreme power,

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Peronne Dumesnil, who began his work at Quebec in the autumn of 1660. His activity was of the aggressive sort, and he proceeded at once to investigate the abuses which prevailed in the colony. He found himself at once the storm center of opposition and adverse criticism. The company in the early years of the colony had granted the monopoly of the fur trade to its inhabitants, the tax upon which has already been mentioned as calling for an annual payment of one thousand pounds of beaver-skins. The control of this traffic in furs had been placed in the hands of a council, and at this time was entirely in the control of the Jesuits. Dumesnil's chief labor was to call the council to account, which resulted in their being accused of wholesale fraud and embezzlement. Dumesnil was at once met with a declaration on the part of the councillors that his proceedings were void. They refused to recognize him in the capacity named in his commission, which was of controller, intendant, and judge. He characterized them as usurpers, and the revolt was carried to the extreme of a threat against his life. This, however, had no effect upon him except to impair his health.

Two sons were with Dumesnil here, one of whom, Des Touches, was with his father in Quebec. This young man was attacked in August, and received such injuries that he afterward died. He was practically kicked to death, and this outrage was charged to four individuals. The real author was never

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discovered.¹ Matters were carried with such a high hand against Dumesnil that a mob was raised against him as he lay sick in his house. Other efforts were made against him, which he succeeded in avoiding. Recovering his health, he renewed his attack upon the council, but his demands were scouted.

The controversy continuing, upon the representation of Laval Dumesnil was superseded. Laval had gained the king to his side, and was allowed to select his own governor in the person of Saffray de Méze. Méze was of the faith. In his younger days he had been a Huguenot, but later he had become a member of a company of devotees under the influence of Bernières. He was a zealot. When the new governor and Laval took ship for Quebec they were accompanied by Gaudais-Dupont, who was sent out as a royal commissioner to investigate the affairs of the colony. Once installed in office, acting under the advice of Laval and Gaudais-Dupont, the council proceeded to seize Dumesnil's papers, which not only included charges against certain of the councillors, but the indubitable proofs of their malfeasances, their stealings and extortions. Dumesnil never saw his papers after that. The council, elated with its success, obtained an order that the deposed governor should be arrested, which was not enforced. A French ship coming into the harbor,

¹ This story is related in two lines in the *Journal des Jésuites*.

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he took passage on her for France; but receiving warning that he would be arrested should he attempt to go on board, he succeeded in reaching another vessel which was ready to sail, by which he got to France safely. Once in France, he laid his complaint before Colbert; but nothing much was accomplished, except that the Company of New France was relieved of its privileges and the direction of the colony placed under the direct administration of the Crown.¹

In the selection of Méze, Laval had reckoned without his host; for it was not long after this affair of Dumesnil's that the governor indicated to the Jesuits that he was not likely to be so easily managed as they had hoped. Later on, he found himself in direct conflict with Laval over the conduct of the three commissioners, Bourdon, Villeray, and Auteuil, who had been Laval's tools in the seizing of Dumesnil's papers. Méze, on February 13, 1664, ordered these three commissioners to absent themselves from the council, for the reason that in their appointment he had been imposed upon; that

¹Dumesnil's memorial contains charges of peculations which cover a period of twelve years, with a list of the defaulters. Some of the monies were taken upon charges to imaginary creditors; one charges 3,100 francs for fireworks to celebrate the marriage of the king, the actual cost of which was about 40 francs; D'Argenson made his small salary larger by drawing pay for soldiers who had no existence.

Parkman, *Old Régime in Canada*, p. 203, note.

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his ignorance of the situation and his disposition had been surprised into an assent to their nomination. He asked Laval to assist him in this act of expulsion, which Laval declined to do; whereupon Méze made his expulsion public by placarding over the town a proclamation which was made by the town drummer. He proposed a public election of the councillors; but he was dealing with a man "armed with redoubtable weapons." He had placed himself in direct antagonism to Laval, who caused the intimation to be given the governor that not only would he be refused the administration of the Holy Sacrament, but that the Church would be closed to him as well. Perplexed as he was, he would not reinstate the former councillors, which resulted in an interruption of justice which was laid at the door of Laval, whereupon the governor declared by proclamation that on the petition of Quebec and the neighboring settlements he had called a convocation of the people, by the advice of whom he had appointed the *Sieur de Chartier* as attorney-general, the office from which Bourdon had a short time before been relieved by himself. The latter's reply resulted in the governor's excluding him from all public functions; and, upon the meeting of the council established by the governor, an order was passed for the election of a mayor and two aldermen.

Quebec was to become a city. Repentigny was elected mayor. His two aldermen were Madry and

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Charron. This choice not being pleasing to Laval, these declined to act. The council came to the resolution that a mayor was a needless functionary, whereupon the people chose a syndic. Charron was elected by twenty-two votes which were cast in the presence of the council. The latter was of the governor's party. The Jesuits ordered a new election, but no voters appeared. The governor, who was apparently as good a politician as the Jesuit bishop, caused messages to be sent to such as he knew were in his interest, who came to the council-chamber, threw their ballots, and once more a syndic was elected favorable to his administration. Thus the machinations of Laval were defeated for the third time.

The term of office of the councillors was one year. That term had expired. The power to appoint, between the governor and the bishop, was joint; but their relations were such that no action jointly by them was possible. Laval clamored for the appointment of the former councillors; the governor refused, and, on September 18, 1664, appointed a council of his own, upon which only two of the old councillors, Amours and Tilly, found places. Laval protested, but the choice of the governor was proclaimed by the town drummer and by placards scoring Laval, which were posted about the town. The governor was excluded from the confession. This resulted in the appearance of the governor and soldiers at the church. Laval was

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saying mass. This proceeding raised a hue and cry among the Jesuits, but the sympathies of the people were with the governor. Inspired by the support of the people, Méze banished Bourdon and Villeray to France, and in this he had given to Laval the hilt of the sword. Only one accusation was needed to procure the downfall of Méze, and that was that he had appealed to the people. Laval had triumphed once more.

Shortly after this the governor fell ill, and on the night of May 6, 1665, he had closed his earthly score to find a grave among the paupers of Quebec. He was succeeded by the Marquis de Tracy. When De Tracy set sail from France the king gave him two hundred soldiers of the regiment of Carignan-Salières,¹ and assured him he would send him one thousand more later. He was accompanied by many young nobles, and, sailing indirectly to Quebec by way of the West Indies, he reached Quebec June 30, 1665, amid the roar of cannon, while all Quebec gathered to see the show as the crowded vessels poured their cargoes of humanity into the boats alongside. The lieutenant-general and his suite were finally on the quay of Quebec.

¹Susane, *Ancienne Infanterie Française*, vol. v., p. 236.

This famous regiment, one of the officers of which was the Baron St. Castin, before its disbanding in Canada, was afterward reorganized as the Regiment of Lorraine. It ceased to exist in 1794. In Canada it comprised about twelve hundred men.

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For this colony, in particular, it was a gorgeous show, and was probably the first public procession of soldiers that ever traversed the streets of Quebec. The lieutenant-general was preceded by a guard of twenty-four men in the royal livery. Behind him came four pages and six valets. They climbed the steepes of Quebec from the Lower Town to pass the apology of a fort, which was hardly more than a mingling of rough timbers and stone, but which at that time bore the high-sounding name of the Castle of St. Louis. They were soon in the square between the cathedral and the College of the Jesuits, the bells of which were ringing loudly; while Laval, in his robes of office, surrounded by numerous priests and his Jesuit following, awaited the deputy of the king. He was devoured with curiosity as he offered him the holy water; and he saw before him a tall, portly man, a veteran of sixty-two years, of whom Mother Mary wrote, "One of the largest men I ever saw." They had placed a *prie-dieu* for him, which he declined. He was offered a cushion, but declined that also. Hot as he was after his hill-climb, he knelt on the bare stones of the pavement with a devotion which was regarded by Laval as a most auspicious indication of his adherence to the church. It was a day of joyous festival.

This may be regarded as the beginning of the new régime in Canada. Here was to be a new France. The colony was to be taken under the

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paternal care of the king. Everything was to be provided for a solid growth — with the advent of the soldiers, new settlers, and an abundance of cattle; with young women who were to be sent out as wives for the unmarried; so that, before the winter came, two thousand persons had been added to the population of Quebec by the beneficence of the king. This advent of De Tracy was followed by the arrival of M. de Courcelle as governor and M. Talon as intendant, who were accompanied by the remainder of the Carignan regiment, and with them came a train of young nobles, guards, and valets.¹

This was the beginning of the end of the Jesuit domination in political affairs, and the lines between State and Church with every day were to be more and more distinctly outlined. The closing incident of this year, after the building of a fort at Sorel and the erection of a third fort two or three leagues above Chambly, was an embassy from the Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, who came to Quebec led by Garacontie, who had been won over by the Jesuits and who ever after was a loyal friend of the French. In their party was young Le Moyne, of Montreal, who had been captured some months before, and who was now returned to his kindred as an offering of peace by his captors.

¹ Juchereau says this was De Tracy's usual attendance when he went abroad.

Parkman, *Old Régime in New France*, p. 238, note.

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In the early winter of 1666 preparations were made for an invasion of the Iroquois. The governor was for war. De Tracy concurred in this martial ardor, and a winter march was planned to the Mohawk towns. The distance to be traversed over frozen streams and through snow-smothered woods was estimated at three hundred leagues. On the ninth of January the war-party left Quebec. At Sillery the troops performed their devotions at the little chapel of St. Michael; then, slinging their snow-shoes to their backs, they took to the mirror-like ice of the St. Lawrence. It was a new experience for the Carignans. At Three Rivers some had to be left behind, but others from that garrison took their places.¹ On they plodded up the Richelieu, leaving behind the forts at Sorel and Chambly, until, on the last days of the month, they reached the last fort in the chain, that of St. Thérèse. In the force were some two hundred Canadians, seventy of whom were veteran Indian-fighters, whose knowledge of wood-lore had made them adepts in the craft which made of the savage a dreaded foe. They were in the van. After them came the unacclimated Carignans, who were gaining hardihood with every step, weighed down as they were with camp-baggage and supplies strapped to their shoulders. At Lake Champlain a vision unlike anything they had ever seen in their native

¹ Dollier de Casson, *Histoire du Montreal*, 1665, 1666.

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France unfolded before them in the broken folds of the blue Adirondacks. Before them was a stretch of icy plain, hemmed in on either side by a brush of gray wilderness varied by the dusky barriers of the evergreen woods.¹ Slowly they made their way, sheltering their steps from the rough winds under the lee of the dense woods.

It was a march of accumulating experiences, the wintry snows piling their way more deeply with every downfall, until it was almost shoulder high. Passing the scene of Champlain's battle with the Iroquois, they were out upon the sunlit mystery of Lake George. Crossing the Hudson, they groped through the pallid silences of the forest, sniffing the frosty air with the noses of so many foxes for the creosotes of the Mohawk villages. But they were astray. Their Algonquin guides had failed them. They had left them drunk at St. Thérèse. Laying their course by way of Saratoga Lake, they came out upon the Dutch village of Corlear, now known as Schenectady, where they camped over night.² It was here the weather changed; for in the morning there was a threat of sudden thaw. The retreat began as soon as the dusk fell, the Mohawks

¹ Gookin, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, First Series, vol. i., p. 161.

² *A Relation of the Govern^r of Cannada, his March with 600 Voluntiers into y^e Territoryes of His Royall Highnesse The Duke of Yorke in America.*

Documentary History of New York, vol. i., p. 71.

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at their heels, taking now and then a straggler captive. They pushed on until they reached Fort St. Louis at Chambly, with a loss of sixty men through exposure and sickness.

While the purpose of the expedition had been rendered abortive by the tippling Algonquins, it had the salutary effect of convincing the Iroquois that their forest fastnesses were fastnesses no longer. It, as well, taught the Carignans the lesson of endurance.

The Senecas sent a peace-embassy; and shortly after their arrival came the news of a Mohawk attack upon a party of French near the outlet of Lake Champlain, in which assault seven had either been killed or captured. Among the latter was a cousin of the lieutenant-governor, De Tracy. A Jesuit who had been despatched to sound the real purposes of the savages was promptly summoned to return, and the twenty-four Senecas were at once put in prison. Three hundred men under Sorel were sent against the Mohawks, but there was to be no hostile meeting. When the French were within two days' journey of the enemy an Iroquois chief, nicknamed "the Flemish bastard," came into the French camp with Leroles, De Tracy's cousin, and his fellow captives, offering to make ample satisfaction for the man killed in this fray, whose name was Chasy. Taking the bastard along, Sorel made his way back to Quebec, where he found a horde of deputies from the Iroquois, whose sole

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object seemed to be to enter into a treaty of peace, which was abruptly terminated by the hanging of the self-confessed murderer of Chasy.¹

De Tracy at once set about his preparations for an effective invasion of the Iroquois territory. When this expedition left Quebec it was made up of thirteen hundred men. Crossing Lake Champlain, they wet the keels of their boats in the waters of St. Sacrament (Lake George). It was October. They had found a beaten trail, the war-path of the Mohawks and Oneidas. They followed it for a hundred miles, a journey latterly of mishaps to De Tracy and Courcelle; for the former had the gout, and the latter, cramps. They ran short of provisions, but they found in the falling chestnuts a stay for their hungry stomachs. At last they reached the outskirts of a Mohawk village, when a heavy storm set in; but on they went, eager to get at the savages; nor were they to be disappointed. Their guides were, on this expedition, leading them

¹ On this occasion the governor gave a dinner. He invited the Flemish bastard. An allusion was made to Chasy. The Mohawk raised his hand to exclaim, "This is the hand that split the head of that young man." Tracy immediately ordered the savage into the custody of the hangman. He was at once hanged. That stopped all talk of peace, and the preparations for the invasion of the Mohawks went on.

Marie de l'Incarnation.

Journal des Jésuites.

Nicholas Perrot, *Mœurs des Sauvages*, p. 113.

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aright. As the dawn broke they saw before them the Mohawk palisade in the midst of its yellowing fields of corn. Two small cannon had been brought along, but they were dropped in the excitement of those first moments of discovery. A reverberate roll of twenty drums filled the woods with a smother of sound, and with the first gathering echoes the Indians fell into a panic. To them, every drum was in the hands of a white medicine-man; and as the French poured out from the shadows of the woods in endless file, the Mohawks took to their heels. De Tracy followed them to their next town, which was as easily taken. So they pushed on from village to village, until in the late afternoon they had captured the fourth town. There was one more village, the way to which was indicated by an Algonquin squaw who had lived among the Mohawks as a captive. Tired as De Tracy's soldiers were, the drums beat anew, and on they went. The last Mohawk town was taken. Like the others, it was tenantless; for the Mohawks had not stopped in their flight.

In the construction of their forts the Mohawks had profited by their acquaintance with the Dutch. They were capable of an extended defence. The French found within their houses of wood, one hundred twenty feet in length, great stores of corn and other food. Here was planted the cross supported by the royal arms, and De Tracy made proclamation that he took possession of this coun-

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try in the name of his king. Then the work of destruction began. With the next dawn there was nothing left of Andaraqué. Singing the *Te Deum* and saying mass, the French took up their march backward over the trail. They had not broken the power of the Mohawks, but they had reduced them to the prospect of a winter of famine.

But the affair was not to end here; for when the English governor at New York heard of this foray he sent letters to the governors of the New England colonies, urging them to join him in an expedition against De Tracy. De Tracy out of the way, Canada would fall an easy prey to their combined forces. His overtures did not meet with favor, although France and England were then at war; so the French got away unmolested, reaching Quebec just as winter closed in.

Dollier de Casson was despatched to Fort Anne, on the Isle la Motte, near the north end of Lake Champlain. It had been built the summer before, but De Tracy's idea had been to abandon it on his return march to Quebec. Once there, he decided not to do so. It was so late in the season the supplies needed could not be sent. A pestilence had fastened itself upon this garrison, and Casson, once there, found himself performing the duties of a physician to the sick and a priest to the dying. The scurvy was decimating their numbers rapidly.

Early in the spring the Iroquois made their appearance; but their mission was a peaceful one, and

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Fort Anne was safe. The Iroquois, thoroughly cowed, willingly entered into a peace which was unbroken for twenty years. Thus was the conquest of Canada by the French completed. Peace assured, the Carignans were partly disbanded. Two companies were returned to France. Later, the remaining companies were dismissed from the service on the condition that they become settlers.

Then was inaugurated a system of seigniorial grants along the St. Lawrence and its tributaries, and feudalism was set up in New France. The seignories were given to the officers, who held by tenure or homage; by whom allotments were made to their soldiers who became *habitants*, holding by inferior tenure. The government urged the increase of population in the colony. Unmarried men were compelled to marry. To supply them with wives, young women were sent over from France, whose eligibility was solely confined to their possession of the functions of maternity. Marriage and child-bearing were the credentials to citizenship. The marriage-consummation entitled the participants to a cash payment, a farm, or cattle, and sometimes all three. A family of ten children entitled its head to an annual pension of three hundred livres; twelve children, four hundred. The census of 1671 records six to seven hundred births in that one year.

Frontenac followed Courcelle as governor. Talon had finished his administration. Quebec, Three

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Rivers, and Montreal had become considerable towns, and up and down the St. Lawrence were the open lands of the settlers, which extended to the Island of Orleans, where the wilderness with silent mystery hung upon the skirts of the new civilization.

With the Dutch War of 1672 Louis XIV. found other cares upon his shoulders, and his paternal activities toward Canada ceased. Frontenac, later recalled, was followed by Denonville in 1673; yet prosperity in any marked degree did not follow. For all the artificial stimulus afforded by the government interest, the bane of Canada was the constant governmental intervention, whether of regulation or encouragement, hampered by mischievous restriction.

Canada, the entrance to the savage wilderness of which the St. Lawrence was the great highway, was a country whose hall-mark was a human savagery which tainted even the Canadian *gentil-homme*. Both Church- and State-ridden, not even twenty-eight companies of the king's soldiers could awe her colonists into the observance of law and order. They were, in a majority, half-wild fur-hunters, fur-made, choosing the life of a *coureur du bois*¹ by preference, who sought the freedom of the woods in their untutored reaching out after something which, though shapeless, indefinable, like a shuttle was weaving in their minds

¹*Coureur du bois* ("bush-ranger").

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the subtle web of rebellion, which in more independent New England was recognized as the germ of freedom.

Under such conditions, anything else could hardly be expected for the Canadian *habitant*. The woods were his schoolmaster, and to learn his lessons he sat on the same bench with the aboriginal savage, who came to be his preferable companion. As to his proficiency, the fate of the English settler along the frontier was a fearful exemplification.

Frontenac's first administration as governor of Canada began in 1672. A man of strong parts, he was bold even to hot-headedness, yet keenly sensible of every situation which required action. He recognized the policy of the king as one of extreme autocracy, and while he might fret at the restraints imposed upon him by his master, he was a good servant. But he discovered, as had his predecessors, that in a controversy with the clergy he was bound to get a fall. The king, finally losing patience, sent Frontenac his recall in 1682. As has been noted, he was followed by Denonville. This was not, however, the end of Frontenac in New France; for he was once more to be governor of Canada, when he was to wash his hands in the ruddy tide of St. Castin's War.

After King Philip's War, in 1675, the French of Canada may be regarded as the instigators of the bloody butcheries that began with Schenectady, which mark the sixty years following 1688 with a

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trail of bloody reprisal. The Frenchman of this secondary period in the history of the Canadian colony was becoming plastic. He was ignoring the religious zealot. The Jesuit had begun to grope for the reins, which, somehow, with the advent of the soldiery that was being transmuted into the *gentilhomme* and the *habitant*, had slipped his hold. While the Jesuit was an adept in human philosophy, whose footfall in matters of policy was as noiseless as the pad of a cat, he was no less relentless in his pursuit of those purposes by which his political ends were to be achieved. Supported by the subtle arts and influence of his superiors with the Crown, he had dominated Canada to the verge of failure. He had followed a groove as narrow at the end as at the beginning; yet, like a hound on the scent, he followed it to its final fault, where the trail showed the glitter of an English bayonet. Out of the ardent thirst for exploration and proselytism had grown the wilder and untrammelled spirit of adventure.

With Louis xiv. the earlier ambitions for acquisition had finally cooled into the deliberate purpose to annex New England and New York to Canada. He had allied the Huron and Algonquin; intimidated the Iroquois; through St. Castin he had bound the Abenake with bands of steel. His influence had filtered into every haunt of the savage; for, with the disbanding of the Carignans, a new race was being born,—the half-breed. However reprehensible from the point of morals the laxity of

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the idle noblesse and the *coureur du bois* now appear, it served its purpose. The yielding was mutual, and where the English would inevitably have aroused antagonism the French made the savage warrior into a docile ally and his trusting and loyal convenience.¹ He was no less plastic than the aborigine; and while he made the Indian maid the mother of his illegitimate offspring, she was no less a mother, with a mother's love and a like devotion for the adventurer who had made her the toy of his leisure moments. The bar-sinister of the half-

¹The French Occupation, up to the time when the Canadians undertook actively, in conjunction with their savage allies, the obliteration of the New England frontier, is to be regarded as a condition precedent to the savageries which may well be laid at the door of the Jesuitic influence, and incidentally to the ambitions of the French Crown. Her people were mixed: a soldier-peasantry and the half-breed,—a product indigenous to a wild soil and the wilderness.

New England was peopled by an English yeomanry. Her colonists were in the main of sound Puritan stock, the exponents of a public spirit, supported by a lively conscience, and united by a common interest. As between the colonists of New England and New France, while the French influence in Canada tended to military efficiency, the New Englander was no less a fighter, with a broader mental activity, and a more generous patriotism, the vital germ of which was liberty.

The conspicuous fact in the history of New France during the "Occupation" is the fatal absolutism of the Church of Rome. Its subterfuges, with its interventions in the controversies of the New World, were no less mischievous than they were fatal to the power that fostered them.

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breed had no meaning to her, while the caresses of her French lover filled the cycle of her youthful vision; and no matter what the end might be, she was not unlike many another whose ambitions were bounded by a present condition. What would have been a profanation to the English was to the French adventurer a pastime. There could be but one result,—the adhesion of the savage to the French interest. It was more than a Jesuit ritual: it was the tie of blood.

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TO get into the atmosphere of the days when the storm of a savage war was gathering over the heads of the Massachusetts colonists, in which the Wampanoag¹ sachem of Mount Hope was to be the fateful factor, one has to wander down the south shore of Massachusetts Bay to East Bridgewater, where were once the fishing-grounds² of Massasoit, and over into Middleborough (ancient

¹The Wampanoags, or Pokonokets, were the subjects of Massasoit, of Alexander, and, subsequently, of Philip. They were the third nation in importance among the New England Indians at the coming of the Plymouth settlers. Dr. Trumbull gives to the word "Wampanoag" the same meaning as is accorded to "Wanb-naghi,"—"East-landers." Their territory included Bristol County, R. I., and the entire southern portion of the Plymouth Colony, with Tiverton and Little Compton. Mount Hope, now a part of Bristol, R. I., was the tribal seat of the Pokonokets. Pokonoket was the tribal designation.

Douglas-Lithgow, *Dictionary of American Indian Names*.

²Gookin says, "This people were a potent Nation in former Times, and could raise, as the most credible and ancient Indians affirm, about three thousand men."

Drake, *Indian Chronicles*, p. 52.

Hubbard, p. 139.

Hubbard, *Narrative*, p. 8.

Gookin, *1 Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. i.

Barry, *History of Massachusetts, First Period*, p. 406. †

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Namasket), where the old sachem had his wigwam and where he received his English friends. One goes back to the days when Myles Standish, Constant Southworth, John Alden, and some others, one bright May morning, found their way to what is now Bridgewater, where was consummated the treaty that gave to Standish the seven miles, east, west, north, and south, of these lands broken into picturesque disorder, with their mingling of woodland, meadow, hill, and stream — a beautiful country and much to be desired, and the gaining of which merited, in addition to a few coats, hatchets, and some other things of small value, a more generous consideration than was meted out to the despised Wampanoags of the years that followed. Only the sky and the broken horizon of the diminished woodlands, verdurous in summer, or dunly gray under the winter sun, remain to suggest the mystery and romance of those aboriginal days, with the commonplace Puritan influences that had begun to cast their lengthening shadows of lustful absorption across their virgin lands,¹ that before two generations had elapsed were to reek with the stench of human blood and the smoke of smouldering cabins.

When the Pilgrims had finally located themselves at Plymouth their condition was a precarious one. They were few in number, a prey to sickness, and

¹Higginson, *Inter-Charter Papers*, vol. i., p. 145.

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enviored by a wilderness with the extent of which they were wholly unacquainted, inhabited by a people of whom they had no right to expect other than an unwelcome greeting. They were exposed to a climate with which they were unacquainted, and their outlook was far from encouraging. They were already becoming a prey to the inroads of disease, and their salvation may be said in a way to have depended upon the religious faith by which their outlook upon the future was forecasted. It was some three months after their landing that the incident which undoubtedly had most to do with the ultimate success of their venture transpired. This was the coming of Samoset, and it was through him that they made the acquaintance of Massasoit. There is no doubt that had the Indian tribes of that section made a combined attack upon this little settlement it would have been annihilated. Instead of so untoward a fate, Massasoit conceived a lasting friendship for these English adventurers, not only giving them his friendship, but, as well, extending toward them a most notable hospitality. He not only entered into a league of peace and amity with them, but he sold, or rather gave, to them a portion of his patrimony, and also pledged himself to the securing of the friendliness of his savage neighbors.

Whatever criticism may be made upon the attitude of the Indians toward the English, no question can be entertained of the integrity and good

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will of Massasoit; and there is no doubt that had the English met the Indian upon the same plane of generosity and friendship the latter would never have been charged with perfidy or outrage. Through the years that followed he suffered them to increase their possessions without suspicion or jealousy, watching their increase in numbers and prosperity with apparent satisfaction.

In the consideration of these matters in which one finds the story of the aborigine the chief factor of interest one is impelled to take a comparative view of the situation, as offering a new and unexplored tract of human nature upon which the foot-fall of civilization begets no generous or romantic suggestion. Civilization goes about in disguise, a creature dependent upon the good opinion of its fellows. It wears a mask, actor-like, as Irving suggests. Its part is the result of study, of plot, plan, and policy — which is mostly built upon a foundation of petty deception, wherein the real and the artificial are so inextricably intermingled that a smile and a hand-shake are more often than not the lead by which a selfish interest sounds the depths in which he proposes to moor his craft for such time as serves his convenience and profit. It is an unwholesome human characteristic, but typical of the attitude of those who, uninvited, preëmpted the lands of the New England Indians. The savage, the child of a wild environment, knew none of the restraints common to the strangers who broke over

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the horizon of his solitude, his freedom of living, and his independence of movement with the advent of that first ship from Plymouth. Lacking all the arts and the dissimulations of the Old World, the generous confidence of Samoset and Massasoit sounded a note of noble and dignified generosity, to the level of which the white settler made no effort to attain.¹

If one wishes confirmation of this he has only to consult those who have essayed relations, not of the outrages committed upon the Indians by the English, but of those acts which the injured savage perpetrated by way of reprisal,—relations that were colored with a bitterness and unconcealed hatred that certainly reflects no credit upon the temper of the times, or their annalists. One traces the trail of the early New England civilization by its ruddy stain. There are prints of a bloody betrayal along the way of the early years, that mark

¹“The red man, breathing the aroma of the pine boughs and with it their strength and healing, paddling along his streams of silver in summer, and in mid-winter tramping over his snowy fields on his home-made shoes of hoop-bent ash with the network of interwoven green-hide cut from the skin of some fleet-footed deer, drinking at every breath the sinew-strengthening wine of his northern winds, was a true child of Nature. His manly stature and his dusky comeliness were God-given. What a freedom was his!”

Sylvester, *Homestead Highways*, p. 141.

Barry, *History of Massachusetts, First Period*, p. 405.

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the English lust for encroachment and acquisition with an injustice that is incredible, by which a whole people were literally hunted from the face of the earth.

While Massasoit had maintained an open and avowed friendship for the English, an influence which had extended to the neighboring tribes, the savages still cherished a hatred of the white man that needed only a promise of success to fan it into open and aggressive antagonism. Like the Norse, their history had been handed down by tradition,—tales told by the wigwam fire,—and among these one may be certain were those of the kidnappings of the Portuguese Cortereal, the Florentine Verrazano, and Hunt, who followed them not many years later. It was no wonder that the English who came to settle this strange country should have been met with suspicion, an enmity only to be dispelled by that aboriginal ambassador of good-will and welcome, Samoset. Out of it was to come the stranger intercourse, on one side of which was the open-handed generosity of Massasoit and, on the other, the coldly calculating forbearance which slowly crystallized into an undisguised aversion. It was the spirit of Cortereal, Verrazano, Cartier, and Hunt, except that it varied in its exemplification. The settlers first despoiled the savages of their fishing-grounds, their hunting- and corn-lands, and then they annihilated them with fire and sword because they resented these aggressions. The destruc-

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tion and enslaving of the Pequods, the murder of Miantunnumoh,— in which outrage the English were not only panderers to the hatred of Uncas, but *particeps criminis*,— were of too recent date to become other than a foreshadowing of the fate of the Wampanoags and Narragansetts. Untoward events were about to happen by which the animus of the English was to be made apparent.

Massasoit is supposed to have died about 1666. It was shortly before that event that he came into the English settlement at Plymouth, bringing his two sons, renewing his covenant of peace with the English and allowing them to stand godfather to his offspring, to whom the English gave the names of Alexander and Philip. Alexander was originally known by his Indian names of Mooanum and Wamsutta. His younger brother was called Metacomet, or Pommetacom. English names, Alexander and Philip, were given Massasoit's sons by the governor in open court about the year 1656. No better instance of his friendship to the English could be cited than this event, which takes on a peculiar interest from the fact that at this time he was approaching the age when his authority over his people was likely at any time to pass to his children.

At this time he held a conference with the Plymouth government, in which he sought to protect his people from the encroaching religious zeal of which Eliot was the exponent; and he endeavored

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to exact from the English the promise that they would make no further effort to withdraw his people from their ancient faith. The government at Plymouth refused to entertain his condition, upon which he withdrew his contention. There is no reason to doubt that at that time there was a question in his mind as to the efficacy of what the English termed "the Christian faith;" for the fruits of the white man's religion doubtless did not appeal to his sense of justice or generosity.

If one recalls the invasion of the English into the country of the Pequods, and its results, it is at once evident that Massasoit, with all his kindness and confidence, while soliciting that a continuance of the love and amity which for so many years had existed between himself and the English might be continued toward his children, was not oblivious to the enslaving of the unfortunate Pequods, which to him was perhaps a prophecy of the ultimate fate of his own people. Whatever might have been his apprehensions, the old sachem went on to the Happy Hunting-grounds, while his children were left to the ingratitude of the English.

He was succeeded by his son Alexander, who, imbued with the traditions of his people, proud of his hereditary privileges and the dignity of his office, possessed a temper that brooked neither slight nor injury. There can be no question, as the heir-apparent of his father, as to his power of observation, or that he was unmindful of the "intrusive

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policy and dictatorial conduct" of the settlers, who had preëmpted the shores of Massachusetts Bay; and there is no doubt that the wars of extermination carried on against the Connecticut tribes excited his resentment so that his bearing had aroused suspicion among a people awaiting what to them might be regarded as due provocation to begin the extermination of himself and his people. Whatever might have been the facts, it is evident from what afterward occurred that the English were only awaiting the opportunity.

Namumpum, afterward known as Weetamoo, was the squaw-sachem of Pocasset, and before the events next to be recorded took place she had married Alexander.¹ In recording the events which culminated, in 1675-76, in the subjection of the Indian tribes between the Connecticut and Merrimac Rivers, and incidentally as far east as the Piscataqua, one comes at once upon the trail of the unfortunate and ill-starred Alexander, the successor of the venerable old sachem of the Wampanoags, Massasoit. Dr. Increase Mather relates the story

¹ *Present State of New England*, p. 3, fol. 1676.

Weetamoo seems to have been a woman of more than ordinary character. She had some difficulty with John Sanford and John Archer over an escrow by which she sought to prevent her husband, Alexander, from making further conveyance of her lands without her consent. In 1668 she obtained evidence that restored her to her rights.

Drake, *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii, p. 2.

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of Alexander, which may be accepted as contemporary authority, notwithstanding his known bias against the savages¹ and his designation of the race as a heathen scourge to be peremptorily dealt with.

Dr. Mather says: "In A.D. 1662, Plimouth colony was in some danger of being involved in trouble by the Wampanoag Indians. After Massasoit was dead, his two sons, called Wamsutta and Metacomet, came to the court at Plimouth, pretending high respect for the English, and, therefore, desired English names might be imposed on them, whereupon the court there named Wamsutta, the elder brother, Alexander, and Metacomet, the younger brother, Philip. This Alexander, Philip's immediate predecessor, was not so faithful and friendly to the English as his father had been. For some of Boston, having been occasionally at Narraganset, wrote to Mr. Prince, who was then governor of Plimouth, that Alexander was contriving mischief against the English, and that he had solicited the Narragansets to engage with him in his designed rebellion. Hereupon, Capt. Willet, who lived near to Mount Hope, the place where Alexander did reside, was appointed to speak with him, and to desire him to attend the next court in Plimouth, for their satisfaction, and his own vindication. He seemed to take the message in good part, professing that the Narragansets, whom, he said, were his

¹ Drake, *Indian Chronicles*, p. 35.

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enemies, had put an abuse upon him, and he readily promised to attend at the next court. But when the day for his appearance had come, instead of that, he at that very time went over to the Narragansets, his pretended enemies, which, compared with other circumstances, caused the gentlemen at Plimouth to suspect there was more of truth in the information given, than at first they were aware of. Wherefore the governor and magistrates there ordered Major Winslow, (who is since, and at this day (1677) governor of that colony,) to take a party of men, and fetch down Alexander. The major considering that *semper nocuit deferre paratis*, took but 10 armed men with him from Marshfield, intending to have taken more at the towns that lay nearer Mount Hope. But Divine Providence so ordered, as that when they were about the midway between Plimouth and Bridgewater, observing an hunting house,¹ they rode up to it, and there did they find Alexander and many of his men well armed, but their guns standing together without

¹Massasoit, and likewise Philip, had temporary residences in convenient places where there was good fishing. These were distributed, according to the Indian liking, between Narragansett and Massachusetts Bays, Raynan, Namasket, Titicut (Middleborough), and Munponset Pond in Halifax. Mr. Hubbard thinks that Alexander was at the latter place, where the English met him and requested him to go to Plymouth.

Hubbard, p. 10 (edition of 1677).

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the house.¹ The major, with his small party, possessed themselves of the Indians' arms, and beset the house; then did he go in amongst them, acquainting the sachem with the reason of his coming in such a way; desiring Alexander with his interpreter to walk out with him, who did so a little distance from the house, and then understood what commission the major had received concerning him. The proud sachem fell into a raging passion at this surprise, saying the governor had no reason to credit rumors, or to send for him in such a way, nor would he go to Plimouth but when he saw cause. It was replied to him, that his breach of word touching appearance at Plimouth court, and, instead thereof, going at the same time to his pretended enemies, augmented jealousies concerning him. In fine, the major told him, that his order was to bring him to Plimouth, and that, by the help of God, he would do it, or else he would die on the place; also declaring to him that if he would submit, he might expect respective usage, but if he once more denied to go, he should never stir from the ground whereon he stood; and with a pistol at the sachem's breast, required that his next words should be a positive and clear answer to what was demanded. Hereupon his interpreter, a

¹Hubbard gives the number of Alexander's company as eighty—possibly a typographical error, though not necessarily so, as the Indians were gregarious in their movements.

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discreet Indian, brother to John Sausaman, being sensible of Alexander's passionate disposition, entreated that he might speak a few words to the sachem before he gave his answer. The prudent discourse of this Indian prevailed so far that Alexander yielded to go, only requesting that he might go like a sachem, with his men attending him, which, although there was some hazard in it, they being many, and the English but few, was granted to him. The weather being hot, the major offered him a horse to ride on, but his squaw and divers Indian women being in company, he refused, saying he could go on foot as well as they, entreating only that there might be a complying with their pace, which was done; and resting several times by the way, Alexander and his Indians were refreshed by the English, no other discourse happening while they were upon their march, but what was pleasant and amicable. The major sent a man before, to entreat that as many of the magistrates of that colony as could would meet at Duxbury. Wherefore having there had some treaty with Alexander, not willing to commit him to prison, they entreated Major Winslow to receive him to his house, until the governor, who then lived at Eastham, could come up. Accordingly, he and his train were courteously entertained by the major. And albeit, not so much as an angry word passed between them whilst at Marshfield; yet proud Alexander, vexing and fretting in his spirit, that

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such a check was given him, he suddenly fell sick of a fever. He was then nursed as a choice friend. Mr. Fuller, the physician, coming providentially thither at that time, the sachem and his men earnestly desired that he should administer to him, which he was unwilling to do, but by their importunity was prevailed with to do the best he could to help him, and therefore gave him a portion of working physic, which the Indians thought did him good. But his distemper afterwards prevailing, they entreated to dismiss him, in order to a return home, upon which engagement of appearance at the next court was granted to him. Soon after his being returned home he died.”¹

¹“There is to be seen, in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, a manuscript paper, headed ‘Narrative de Alexandro.’ This paper contains an account of the transaction, drawn up by the authorities of Plimouth, and Mr. Mather’s and Mr. Hubbard’s accounts are the substance of it. As the affair had caused much excitement, and, judging from the writers of that time, particularly the latter, some recrimination upon the conduct of the government of Plimouth, by some of the other English, who were more in the habit of using or recommending mild measures towards Indians than the Plimouth people appear to have been, seems to have been indulged. After thus premising, we will offer the document, which is a letter written by the Rev. John Cotton, of Plimouth, to Dr. I. Mather, and now printed by Judge Davis, in his edition of Morton’s Memorial. There is no date to it, at least the editor gives none; but if it were written in answer to one from Mr. Mather to him, desiring

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By some writers the English have been charged directly with the provocation of the outbreak. The governor of the Plymouth Colony, Winslow, found himself impelled to write a "Letter of Vindication" to Dr. Mather, which the latter thought of sufficient importance to include in his history of this last conflict with the Indians of Massachusetts. It bears the date of May 1, 1676. Drake regards it as good "Evidence of the entire Integrity of its Author." Referring to the "undeserved Aspersions that some ignorant, or worse than uncharitable, Persons would lay upon [the colony] respecting the Grounds of these Troubles," Winslow writes, "We have endeavored to carry it justly and faithfully towards

information on that head, dated 21st April, 1677, we may conclude it was about this time; but Mr. Mather's Relation would not lead us to suppose that he was in possession of such information, and, therefore, he either was not in possession of it when he published his account, or that he had other testimony which invalidated it.

"The letter begins, 'Major Bradford, (who was with Mr. Winslow when Alexander was surprised,) confidently assures me, that in the narrative de Alexandro there are many mistakes, and, fearing lest you should, through misinformation, print some mistakes on that subject, from his mouth I this write. Reports being here that Alexander was plotting or privy to plots, against the English, authority sent to him to come down. He came not. Whereupon Major Winslow was sent to fetch him. Major Bradford with some others went with him. At Munponset River, a place not many miles hence, they found Alexander with about eight men and

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them at all Times, and friendly beyond their Deserts.”¹

Winslow, had he been of the Wampanoags, might have seen the disposition of his people in a clearer light. It is not to be suggested that any single overt act led to the revolt against the English; for, as Drake says, “it grew out of a combination of causes” that began with the abuses of the earliest voyagers, to be augmented by the disregard of the later settler for the rights of the aborigine; and it soon became apparent that the Indian

sundry squaws. He was there about getting canoes. He and his men were at breakfast under their shelter, their guns being without. They saw the English coming, but continued eating; and Mr. Winslow telling their business, Alexander, freely and readily, without the least hesitancy, consented to go, giving his reasons why he came not to the court before, viz.; because he waited for Captain Willet's return from the Dutch, being desirous to speak with him first. They brought him to Mr. Collier's that day, and Governor Prince, living remote, at Eastham, those few magistrates who were at hand issued the matter peaceably, and immediately dismissed Alexander to return home, which he did part of the way; but, in two or three days after, he returned and went to Major Winslow's house, intending thence to travel into the bay and so home; but, at the major's house, he was taken very sick, and was, by water, conveyed to Major Bradford's, and thence carried upon the shoulders of his men to Tethquet River, and thence in canoes home, and, about two or three days after, he died.’”

Drake, *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., pp. 6, 7.

¹Drake, *Old Indian Chronicles*, p. 4.

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had no rights the English felt bound to respect. Had these encroachments been reversed the English would at once have regarded them as a *casus belli*. Under the influence of Massasoit the Wampanoags stomached the petty and not infrequently open acts of dishonesty imposed upon them by the white settler, and it only remained for Alexander to fall a prey to the autocratic disposition of the two governments on Massachusetts Bay. The incident affords an uncharitable suggestion in that "Major Winslow" allowed Alexander, who had fallen seriously ill of a fever, to depart upon his journey, which could but aggravate his ailment. Mather's assertion that he was nursed as a "choice friend," in the light of his son being demanded of him as a hostage, is a bit of delightful persiflage. Mather shows evident desire to anticipate the indictment; and it is not unfair to assume that had Alexander felt sure of the sincerity of the English his uneasiness would have been dispelled and he would have accepted the ministrations of those about him most gratefully. The situation, however, was a forced one, and, being an object of grave suspicion, he was no doubt treated as such; hence his anxiety to get away from what cannot appear other than a false position.¹

¹The stories of Mather and Cotton, leading divines of the Massachusetts Colony, are so widely variant that, but for the names and the date of the occurrences, they would not be

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This incident as related by Mather is suggestive of the fact that the Plymouth settlers had exaggerated the danger; and this is made apparent by the fact that Alexander and his people were on a peaceable expedition. The best proof of Alexander's innocence is his behavior at the approach of the English. Their greeting of the latter was of the most friendly character, and it was only when Major Willet uncovered the chip upon his shoulder and undertook a spasm of misfit heroics that Alexander asserted his dignity. The English had a way of sending for the Indian sachems when their behavior suggested anything out of the ordinary; and once the savage had answered their summons it was assumed that he was premeditating trouble, and he was obliged to answer the English categorically as to his alleged designs.¹ If the English had desired to get into a broil with these sons of

taken as descriptive of the same episode. Hubbard, who lays himself open to the charge of unfairness and a distempered prejudice, agrees with Mather. Drake notes that all three "seem to be very nearly on an equal footing for Truth and Veracity;" but he adds, "It is pretty evident, however, that Mr. Mather intended to make the most of his Story"—an inference not to be withstood.

Drake, *Indian Chronicles*, p. 40.

¹ On one occasion Metacomet was suspected of plotting against the English. August 6, 1662, he was summoned to court at Plymouth, where he renewed the treaty of his father, in which he was required not to alienate his lands without the

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the forest they could not have taken any surer course.¹ They were a set of incipient bullies, so far as the Indian was concerned, and when the worm turned they sanctimoniously charged their own shortsightedness to the account of the devil, and only the purge of blood could exorcise the evil influence.

From all we can learn of Philip, who in those days was known as Metacomet, he carried himself always with dignity. Not only unoffending, his behavior was exceptional and kindly. In 1670 he was suspected of plotting. It was rumored that the Wampanoags, in conjunction with the Pokanokets, were holding frequent assemblies; and as the days went, these rumors became more alarming and took more definite shape. "The Indians are grinding their hatchets and fixing up their muskets,"

consent of the court, to which he consented, but with an air of offended dignity. It was evident he resented this encroachment upon his rights; and the records of this event note that "he was found to be a man of great spirit," and from that time he was more than ever "looked upon with suspicion." Drake remarks, "How much the Indian had to do with making the treaties it is not difficult to judge. They acquiesced because they had not the power to resist. An unwritten word of honor was with them sufficient."

Freeman, *Civilization and Barbarism*, p. 84.

Morton's *Memorial*, pp. 160, 161.

Hubbard's *Narrative*, p. 10.

Hutchinson, vol. i., p. 253.

¹ Hubbard's *Narrative*, p. 7.

New England Genealogical Register, vol. viii., p. 328.

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was the message that passed current among the English. The people of Plymouth decided to send an investigating committee, and to report upon their observations. The Massachusetts government, following the suggestion of the Plymouth people, despatched messengers to Taunton, as well, whose errand was to prevent, if possible, an open war which the Plymouth people intimated they "would be obliged to begin if they could not otherwise bring the Indians to reason."

These joint delegations arrived at Taunton April 13. Metacomet having been summoned, the delegates opened their conference and began to take evidence of the appearance and conduct of the Indians, when a message was received from Philip with the news that he was at Three Mile River, which place was not far from Taunton, where he desired the governor to come and talk with him. The governor answered that he was ready to enter into a treaty, but that Philip should come to him. Notwithstanding the promise of the governor that Philip's personal safety should be regarded, the latter declined to come; and although "two of the messengers proposed to remain as hostages, Metacomet [Philip] still refused to enter town, preferring to go only so far as the mill [Crossman's],¹ and

¹ Baylie, *History of Plymouth*, vol. ii., pt. iii., p. 18.

Here was a gristmill, which took its name from John Crossman.

Drake, *Indian Chronicles*, p. 70, note.

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with men and arms." News was brought, however, that Metacomet was making his approach with his men, and almost at the next moment he was seen upon the crest of a hill that overlooked the mill-stream, where he halted with his men, who appeared to be in considerable force, armed and decorated as was the savage custom before going into a fight. This was not unreasonable upon the part of Philip, as he was well aware that the former had made threats toward him; while the English, who were also armed and in considerable numbers, readily confirmed his suspicions that they possibly intended making an attack upon him. A writer recording this event says: "Some of the delegates and those with him, were for attacking the Indians at once on the spot where they halted.¹ The Massachusetts delegates were apprehensive of the result. All agreed, however, that a governor ought not to condescend to go to an Indian."

After some delay, with no evident disposition on the part of Metacomet to either send or receive messengers, some of the delegates went to him, and endeavored to persuade him to attend upon the governor. Metacomet declined at first, for his

¹ Drake, *Indian Chronicles*, p. 70.

Pierce (*Indian History*, p. 58) makes a good point when he remarks: "The English charged King Philip with plotting rebellion against their government, but the question is pertinent, how King Philip, an independent prince and ruler of another nation, could thus rebel."

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councillors were of the opinion that he ought not to do so. He finally consented, upon the condition that his men might accompany him, and that while the conference was going on between himself and the governor, in the meeting-house, they might occupy one side of the same, to which the English agreed. Drake's description of this event is minute, final, and vividly suggestive.¹ He draws the picture of the sober-visaged English in their "Cromwellian Habit, slouched Hats with their broad Brims, Bandoleers, Cuirasses, long Swords and unwieldly Muskets." One can imagine the rude interior of this primitive building; and as one turns to look to the opposite side of this interior, he is face to face with the antithesis of the Anglo-Saxon civilization. For the sober garb of the English, he sees the savages in all the barbarous panoply of war,—their faces and bodies daubed in accordance with their savage customs,—armed with long bows and quivers of arrows, slung across their shoulders, or perhaps with a stray musket. On the one side were the people of the open lands, while on the

¹Drake says: "The Plymouth Men became clamorous to be allowed to attack Philip. This rash proposal was set aside by the Massachusetts delegation, and in the End, Philip agreed to go to the Green, on the condition that his men go with him to the Meeting-House and that the Indians should occupy one side of it and the English the other."

Drake, *Indian Chronicles*, p. 70.

Barry, *History of Massachusetts, First Period*, p. 407.

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other were the dusky dwellers of the shadowed wilderness.

Once here, Philip was not slow in discovering, to his distaste, that he had placed himself in the power of the English, and that his only way of escape was by acceding to their demands. When he complained to them that they had injured him in his planting-lands they brushed it aside, as Drake says, "as a pretense and fabrication;" and they not only treated his complaint thus lightly, but they told him that he knew his claim to be without foundation.¹ He was charged with making warlike prep-

¹"King Philip alleged that the English injured the planted lands of his people; and this from the very nature of the case was probably true, for the Indians kept no fences, and the Englishmen's swine during the warm season of the year ranged in the forests, and whenever an Indian killed a white man's hog, the owner was quick to complain of the injury. From the frequency of these complaints, it would seem that the occasions for killing these swine, while trespassing on the Indian lands, were often afforded."

Pierce, *Indian History*, p. 57.

"Philip having by letter complained to the court of Plimouth of some injuries, at their October term, 1668, they say, 'In answer unto a letter from Philip, the sachem of Pocanokett, &c., by way of petition requesting the court for justice against Francis West [West], for wrong done by him to one of his men about a gun taken from him by the said West; as also for some wrong done unto some swine of the said Indian's. The court have ordered the case to be heard and determined by the selectmen of Taunton; and in case it be

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arations, and when he was asked for an explanation he replied that they were for his better defence against the Narragansetts, from whom he apprehended an invasion. To this the English gave him the lie direct, saying they had proof that he was on the most excellent terms with the Narragansetts¹—a retort which, according to Drake, led him to acknowledge “that it was the Naughtiness of his own Heart that put him upon that Rebellion, and Nothing of any Provocation from the English.” The “Submission” which the English drew up, and which was signed by Philip and three of his sachems, contained the above quotation. Either Philip did not understand the importance of this admission,—which is not an unreasonable view, as the Indians were not so well acquainted with the meaning of treaties as were the English,—or else

not by them ended, that it be referred unto the next March court at Plimouth to be ended.’ How the case turned we have not found. But for an Indian to gain his point at an English court, unless his case were an exceeding strong one, was, we apprehend, a rare occurrence.”

Drake, *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., p. 16.

¹“It was the opinion of the delegates that the Sachem was at the moment on better terms with the Narragansetts than ever before. There was little doubt that he designed mischief: perhaps an attack on Taunton, Seekonk, or some other place. In this opinion the delegates were strengthened by the Sachem’s supplies of provisions and ammunition.”

Freeman, *Civilization and Barbarism*, p. 85, note.

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he concluded that it was the only way to extricate himself from his present difficulties.

The English, having accomplished so much of their mission, now demanded of Philip that he deliver into the hands of the government at Plymouth all the guns in possession of himself and his people, which were "to be kept for their security so long as they shall see Reason." The result of this was that before Philip was allowed to leave the meeting-house his men had surrendered the muskets in their possession, when they were dismissed to go whither they pleased.¹ Philip had been charged with hold-

¹"At this date, bows and arrows had gone nearly out of use among the Indians, being so far superseded by guns, that, without the latter, the Indians could scarcely have provided themselves with game sufficient for food. Guns, therefore, had become far more necessary to the daily existence of the Indians, than they were or ever had been to the English. And to demand, as the prime condition of peace with the English, that the Indians should, without compensation or the return of any just equivalent, surrender and give up to the English their chief means of obtaining both food and clothing, was an unreasonable and unrighteous demand, and so exorbitant that, if complied with on the part of the Indians, would be only to accept death by hunger rather than the sword."

Pierce, *History of the Indians*, p. 58.

Hubbard, *Narrative*, pp. 11, 12.

Mather, p. 7.

Hutchinson, vol. 1., pp. 254-256.

Baylie, vol. iii., pp. 18-21.

As to later episodes of the same character, *vide 1 Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. v., pp. 193-197; also vol. vi., p. 196.

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ing his engagements with the English but lightly, and, in this particular, he neglected to bring in such muskets as were in the hands of other of his people; and when required to go to Plymouth, he refused; and he was attracting to himself many strange Indians.

There could be but one result to this conference, and that was, if Philip entertained a resentment against the English theretofore for injuries, real or fancied, they were now changed to a lively hatred, which he, however, concealed, but which his sachems were less successful in doing; for their desire was to wreak immediate vengeance upon the whites. One of his sachems was so angered at what he called Philip's cowardliness of temper and disposition that he threw his weapons at Philip's feet, declaring that he would never again hold himself in allegiance to him or fight under him. This sachem at once joined the English, and fought with them against Philip.

While in this peremptory proceeding the English had gained their condition, it was of a most uncertain character; and while it had the effect of antagonizing the Indians the more acutely, the English were no less impolitic, for the reason that they were led to treat the savage with less consideration, so that the complaints, which were mutual, increased rather than diminished. The English accused the Indians of not giving up their muskets, and of causing them to be conveyed away

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secretly; and following up these abuses, under the pretense that the Indians had not kept their agreement in regard to the surrender of their guns, they sent bands of armed men to the different tribes, who were instructed to make a seizure of such guns as they might find, and to bring them to Plymouth.

The condition by which Philip bound himself reads: "I did freely engage to resign up to the Government of New Plymouth, all my English arms." It is evident from what afterward happened that Philip regarded this condition as applicable only to those men who accompanied him to the conference in the meeting-house. In fact, had the English borne in mind the unwritten law of the savage they would have realized that they were binding Philip to that which he had no power to enforce, as the individual savage had bought and paid for his own gun, and, according to the Indian rights of property, such was under the owner's individual control. So it becomes readily apparent that the effort upon the part of the English to enforce this condition generally not only widened the gap between the English and the Indian, but, as well, would be the occasion of no inconsiderable excitement among the different members of the tribes.

With the Indian the day of the bow and arrow had passed; he had become dependent upon the musket as a means of procuring such of his living as was contributed by the hunt; nor were they able to understand the reasons upon which the English

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founded this act, which to them seemed based upon injustice and oppression.

At the head of the Seconet' tribe was a squaw-sachem who has been accorded a character of more than ordinary energy. Her name was Awashonks.¹ The English records do not show what transpired upon the visit of the English to the Seconets when they went to demand their guns; but it may be inferred, possibly, from the terms to which Awashonks consented at Plymouth, June 24, 1671. She had been cited to appear at the Plymouth court earlier, and a portion of the "Submission" is interesting in this: "In admitting that the Court are in some Measure satisfied with your voluntary² coming in now at last and Submission of herself to us; yet this we expect, that she give some meet Satisfaction for the Charge and Trouble she has put upon us through her too long standing out against the many Tenders of Peace we have made to her and her people." After the relation of some other matters, the "Submission" includes the covert threat against such of the tribes as the English regard as the instigators of the present mischief.

Among the circumstances which attended the

¹The squaw-sachem of Sogkonate, a point of land below Pocasset, now Compton, R. I., commonly known as Seconet. Her husband's name was Tolony. She first comes into notice in the Plymouth treaty of 1671, and she does not again become of interest until the breaking out of King Philip's War.

²Drake, *Indian Chronicles*, p. 81.

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advent of Major Josiah Winslow with his soldiers, whose purpose was to seize the guns in the hands of the Seconets, was the failure of his object. Whether the Seconets had notice of the English purpose or not, when Winslow came they found that the Indians had been able to put their guns beyond reach; and in this conference, having in view Winslow's failure, the court promised amnesty to such of the savages as should surrender themselves and their arms to the English within ten days from that date, and it was in this manner that the disarming of the savages commorant to the Plymouth Colony proceeded. This same court passed an order "that all the Guns that had belonged to Philip now in our Hands, are justly forfeited." This was supplemented by another order that the guns surrendered by Philip were to be distributed among the English of the several towns of the Plymouth Colony, ratably. Philip was also charged with having broken his faith with the English, and, as well, with misrepresenting the Plymouth government, by reason of which Plymouth assumed authority over the Wampanoags.

The Massachusetts government was not slow in suggesting to the Plymouth government that they had gone too far in this matter, in answer to a request from the Plymouth people to assist them in compelling Philip to keep his agreement.¹ This

¹The Massachusetts government replied in part: "They

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reply did not set well upon the Plymouth stomach, and a council of war was had at Plymouth, August 23, 1671, where the principal question discussed was "Philip's entertaining so many strange Indians, which might portend Danger towards us. In special by his entertaining of divers Saconetee Indians, professed Enemies to this Colony and against Good Counsel given him by his Friends." It was "unanimously agreed by this Council of War that we cause the said Sachem to make his personal Appearance, to make his Purgation, in Reference to the Premises," and in case of his refusal to conform to this drastic policy of the English, his "Reducement by Force" was to be at once prosecuted.

The English had found the subjection of Alexander so easy that they concluded Philip could

doubted whether the Covenants and Engagements that Philip and his Predecessors had made with them, would plainly import that he had subjected himself, People and Country to them any further than as in a neighborly and friendly Correspondency."

Drake, *Indian Chronicles*, p. 84.

Also: "We do not understand how far he hath subjected himself to you, but the treatment you have given him and your proceedings towards him do not render him such a subject as that if there be not a present answering to summons there should be presently proceedings to hostilities. The sword once drawn and dipped in blood may make him (Philip) as independent on you as you are on him."

Freeman, *Civilization and Barbarism*, p. 86, note.

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be manipulated to their domination as well; but Philip's teeth were first to be pulled, hence the insistence of the English that the Indians should surrender their guns. They, as well, wished to be able to offset any opposition on the part of Philip, and determined to lay the case before those colonies which were likely to be directly interested in the outcome. In pursuance of this decision Secretary Morton, in behalf of Mr. John Freeman, a magistrate of the Plymouth Colony, gave notice to the governor of Massachusetts Bay, August 23, for his government, that the latter had again summoned Philip to appear September 13;¹ that should the latter not make due appearance they would send, on September 20, a sufficient force to bring him to reason, "unless cause why it should not be done be shown by the Massachusetts authorities." Morton intimated, as well, that the government regarded it as "a common cause, and would be glad to accept assistance, although if aid was denied, they would

¹Barry says: "Mr. Morton, secretary of the Colony, wrote the governments of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, informing them of the conduct of Philip, and of a new Summons for his appearance on the 13th of September (1761), which, if refused, they were resolved to enforce at the point of the sword."

History of Massachusetts, First Period, p. 407.

¹ *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. vi., pp. 197, 198.

Drake's Book of the Indians, vol. iii., p. 21.

Summons (May 27, 1671), in Winslow MSS.

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engage alone." The Rhode Island Colony was also notified.

Philip and his chief sachems were in Boston when Morton's letter came;¹ and so well did the Wampanoag sachem present his case to the governor and his council that the Massachusetts government, in their reply to the Plymouth people, urged that the differences between Plymouth and Philip be referred to commissioners to be appointed by the Connecticut and Massachusetts governments, jointly. This was declined by Plymouth, and the appearance of Philip was insisted upon at the appointed time. Whereupon the Massachusetts government made final and peremptory reply that, "There does not appear sufficient ground for commencing hostilities."² The reply of Rhode Island was more favorable, as they had no doubt of the purpose of the Indians. Plymouth could count on Rhode Island.³

Upon this, the time was extended for Philip's appearance six days, and he was promised a safe conduct, which included such of the Wampanoags as he chose to take along with him. They also invited commissioners from the adjoining colonies of

¹ *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. vi., p. 198.

² Freeman, *Civilization and Barbarism*, p. 86.

³ Drake says in a note (*Indian Chronicles*, p. 80) that the letter sent to the Rhode Island authorities is undoubtedly lost.

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Massachusetts and Connecticut to attend upon the conference. Philip turned to Massachusetts for direction. On September 24 the court was convened. The joint commissioners were in attendance, and the interested parties, after a five days' session, agreed upon articles of peace and friendship such as were approved by the commissioners.¹

Before this, Awashonks and Governor Prince of Plymouth had become reconciled, as appears by a

¹“The articles were as follows:—

“1. We, Philip and my Council and my subjects, do acknowledge ourselves subjects to his majesty the King of England, and to the government of New Plymouth, and to their laws.

“2. I am willing and do promise to pay unto the government of Plymouth £100 in such things as I have; but I would entreat the favor that I may have three years to pay it in, forasmuch as I cannot do it at present.

“3. I do promise to send unto the Governor, or whom he shall appoint, five wolf-heads, if I can get them, or as many as I can procure until they come to five wolves yearly.

“4. If any difference fall between the English and myself and people, then I do promise to repair to the Governor of Plymouth to rectify the difference amongst us.

“5. I do promise to make no war with any but by approbation of the Governor of Plymouth.

“6. I promise not to dispose of any of the lands that I have at present, but by the approbation of the Governor.

“For the true performance of the premises, the said Sachem, Philip of Pokanoket, do hereby bind myself and such of my Council as are here present,—ourselves, our heirs, our successors,—and faithfully do promise. In witness whereof we

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letter under the hand, doubtless, of Mr. Samuel Baker,— as he is supposed to have acted as her amanuensis,— in which she declared her resolve

have hereunto subscribed our hands the day and year above written.

“ ‘Signed, in presence of the court and divers of the magistrates and other gentlemen of Massachusetts and Connecticut, by

PHILIP, his mark.

UNCOMPAN, his mark.

WOLOKOM, his mark.

SAMKANA, his mark.”

Freeman, *Civilization and Barbarism*, pp. 86, 87.

Hubbard, *Narrative*, p. 144.

Mather, p. 4.

Hutchinson, vol. i., pp. 256–258.

Plymouth Colony Records.

New England Genealogical Register, vol. viii., p. 328.

“The council having deliberated upon the premises, despatched away letters, declaring their thankful acceptance of their kind proffer, and invited the commissioners of the Massachusetts and Connecticut, they (the latter) then being there in the Bay, (Boston,) and some other gentlemen to come to Plymouth and afford us their help: And, accordingly, on the 24 of Sept. 1671, Mr. John Winthrop, Gov. of Connecticut, Maj. Gen. Leverett, Mr. Thos. Danforth, Capt. Wm. Davis, with divers others, came to Plymouth, and had a fair and deliberate hearing of the controversy between our colony and the said sachem Philip, he being personally present; there being also competent interpreters, both English and Indians. At which meeting it was proved by sufficient testimony to the conviction of the said Philip, and satisfaction of all that audience, both (to) the said gentlemen and others,

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to send in all her guns, "being six in Number." This step so readily accomplished, the trial of Philip was to become a matter of course before a

that he had broken his covenant made with our colony at Taunton in April last, in divers particulars: as also carried very unkindly unto us divers ways.

"1. In that he had neglected to bring in his arms, although competent time, yea his time enlarged to do it in, as before stated.

"2. That he had carried insolently and proudly towards us on several occasions, in refusing to come down to our court (when sent for) to have speech with him, to procure a right understanding of matters in difference betwixt us.'

"This, to say the least, was a wretchedly sorry complaint. That an independent chief should refuse to obey his neighbors whenever they had a mind to command him, of the justness of whose mandates he was not to inquire, surely calls for no comment of ours. Besides, did Philip not do as he agreed at Taunton?—which was, that in case of future troubles, both parties should lay their complaints before Massachusetts, and abide by their decision?

"The 3d charge is only a repetition of what was stated by the council of war, namely, harboring and abetting divers Indians not his own men, but 'vagabonds, our professed enemies, who leaving their own sachem were harbored by him.'

"The 4th has likewise been stated, which contains the complaint of his going to Massachusetts, 'with several of his council, endeavoring to insinuate himself into the magistrates, and to misrepresent matters unto them,' which amounts to little else but an accusation against Massachusetts, as, from what has been before stated, it seems that the 'gentlemen in place there' had, at least in part, been convinced that Philip

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species of Court of High Commission; and Dr. Mather, writing of its conclusion, says: "Philip acknowledged his Offence and was appointed to give a Sum of Money to defray the Charge which his insolent Clamors had put the Colony unto."¹

was not so much in fault as their friends of Plimouth had pretended.

"5. That he had shewed great incivility to divers of ours at several times; in special unto Mr. James Brown who was sent by the court on special occasion, as a messenger unto him; and unto Hugh Cole at another time, &c.

"The gentlemen forenamed taking notice of the premises, having fully heard what the said Philip could say for himself, having free liberty so to do without interruption, adjudged that he had done us a great deal of wrong and injury, (respecting the premises,) and also abused them by carrying lies and false stories to them, and so misrepresenting matters unto them; and they persuaded him to make an acknowledgment of his fault, and to seek for reconciliation, expressing themselves, that there is a great difference between what he asserted to the government in the Bay, and what he could now make out concerning his pretended wrongs; and such had been the wrong and damage that he had done and procured unto the colony, as ought not to be borne without competent reparation and satisfaction; yea, that he, by his insolencies, had (in probability) occasioned more mischief from the Indians amongst them, than had fallen out in many years before; they persuaded him, therefore, to humble himself unto the magistrates, and to amend his ways, if he expected peace; and that, if he went on in his refractory way, he must expect to smart for it."

Drake's *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., pp. 22, 23.

¹Dr. I. Mather, *Relation of the Troubles*, p. 73.

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By the new treaty Plymouth had got from Philip the Act of Submission for which they had so long labored. In a way, he was amenable to the government as were the English. It is a question whether Philip understood broadly to what he had consented. His knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon language was necessarily limited; but so long as the Plymouth people had gotten their way, they were content to let the consequences be what they might. Philip had fallen a victim to a diplomacy incomparable to the simple wiles of the savage. Nothing was left to him but to swallow his anger and resentment, no matter what might be the insolencies of the whites, or how often the white man's pigs rooted up the Indian's corn or his clam-beds. The avarice and unprincipled rapacity of the settler as the Indian saw it and felt it had left little to the latter other than his traditions. It has been charged to Philip that from the moment he had shaken the dust of Plymouth from his feet on that late September day he was a conspirator against the hated English. If it were true, it is to be assumed that the intelligence of the savage, notwithstanding the English opinion concerning the same, was too keen not to discover the duplicity of the English, who would have supported their professions much better had they thrown away their chicane and guile, and in their stead confined their intercourse to genuine friendliness and plain dealing.

The charge against Philip's endeavor to inaugu-

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rate a hostile combination against the colonies is not to be proven by any documentary evidence,¹ and the same may be said to the reverse of the proposition. Whatever truth there may have been in it is wholly a matter of inference; but there is no doubt that Philip and his people discussed the matter with their savage neighbors, in which relations of their injuries it would be natural for them to charge the former with being the aggressors. There is no question but that an opinion was entertained by the New England Indians that the Wampanoags had been especially wronged, and it was not a far cry to the wrongs which had been visited upon Miantunnumoh, and, before that, upon the Pequods. There is no doubt that the Indians entertained a hope that at some future time they might be able to release themselves from the domination of the English; but with the tribes being scattered as they were from Passamaquoddy Bay to the Hudson River, much time must necessarily elapse before a conflict could be entered into with any hope of success upon the part of the savages. The deprivation of the Wampanoags of their guns left them

¹ Barry says, "The reality of this plot has indeed been doubted."

History of Massachusetts, First Period, p. 408.

Hubbard, *Narrative*, pp. 13, 14.

Hutchinson, vol. i., p. 259.

Staples, *Ann. Prov.*, p. 159.

Drake, *Boston*, p. 398.

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practically helpless, and it was not to be expected that they could acquire another supply through the English, at the least.

Following the "Submission" at Plymouth, an interregnum of apparent peace succeeded, a state of affairs which continued for perhaps three years, during which time many new towns had been organized and the people had become more scattered. Highways had been laid out across the Indian country by the settlers as they had acquired deeds of land from the former,¹ and to all appearances the savages were generally well disposed toward the whites, Philip among the rest.² Philip continued to

¹ It was in 1672 that Philip sold to William Brenton for one hundred forty-three pounds a tract of land (a part of the present Taunton) on which the grantees had for some time settled. They had undoubtedly made considerable improvements on the same.

In September of that year Philip mortgaged a tract of land four miles square, "having already given a deed of land three miles in width and four in length. . . . to sum of Taunton." He sold to Constant Southworth land a mile in width and four in length. Benjamin Church, afterward famous in King Philip's War, was one of the witnesses to this conveyance.

Drake, *Indian Chronicles*, p. 87, note.

² Here is a curious letter of Philip's one finds in Mr. Clapp's *History of Dorchester*:

"Philip Sachem of Mount Hope to Capt. Hopestill Foster of Dorchester,—Sendeth Greeting:

"Sir you may please to remember when I last saw you att Wading River, you promised me six pounds in goods; now my request is that you send by this Indian five yards of white

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sell lands to the English and to purchase their goods, and on the surface there was an apparent reciprocity, which was nothing more than the calm before the storm.

As has been noted, the Indians were addicted to the use of intoxicating liquors. No matter what the circumstances, they would acquire it if possible; and among the settlers were those who, for a consideration, furnished the Indians with liquor to such an extent that in 1673 the Plymouth court ordered that no person should take anything in pledge from an Indian for liquor. This did not help matters particularly; and it was after that, and through the two or three years following, that the intercourse between the savages and the white men seemed somewhat broken in upon.

It was in the winter of 1674 or early in the spring of 1675 that there were signs of hostility on the part of the Wampanoags. On January 29, 1674-75, an

or light colored sarge, to make me a coat, and a good Holland Shirt ready made; and a pair of good Indian Breeches, all of which I have present need of. Therefore I pray sir, fail not to send them by my Indian and with them the several prices of them; and silk and buttons and seven yards of Gallowne for trimmings. Not else att present to trouble you with onley the subscription of

KING PHILIP,
His Majesty P: P

Mount Hope

the 15th of May, 1672."

Drake, *Indian Chronicles*, p. 87, note

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Indian was murdered. His English name was John Sassamon.¹ He was born in the neighborhood of Punkapog (Dorchester). His father and mother, under the teachings of John Eliot, became "praying Indians." The son, John, could read and write English, and aided Eliot in his translation of the Bible into the native tongue. Sassamon was for a time a teacher to the Indians at Natick, and was employed in missionary work among his own people. He had adopted in considerable degree the ways and habits of the English, and was their interpreter upon necessary occasions. He had followed the fortunes of the English in their war with the Pequods (1637).

He was of a restless temperament — a common trait among the savages. Some time before the death of Alexander he had a little farm on those lands belonging to Watuspaquin, while serving Alexander as his scribe and interpreter. After that unfortunate event he fulfilled the same office to Alexander's successor, Philip. He is said to have back-slidden somewhat, going for a while to live among the "heathen Indians;" but afterward, be-

¹ The name Sassamon, like most Indian names, is variously spelled. It here appears as nearest understood in his latter years. Woosasaman was the original spelling.

Drake, *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., p. 9.

Sassamon has been alluded to by Pierce as an "unstable-minded person;" by another authority as a "Renegade Indian." Easton gives him a disreputable character.

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coming conscience-stricken, he came back into the Indian church, was rebaptized, and resumed his old office of "Instructor among them on the Lord's Day."¹

The Namaskets favored the teachings of Eliot; and to induce Sassamon to labor in that special field, Watuspaquin gave him twenty-seven acres of land on Assawompsett Neck "for a House-lot."² Having the confidence of Philip, he came to know his master's feelings toward the English. He was fully aware of the plot which Philip hoped to perfect at some future day, in which was comprised the utter annihilation of the English in New England. Disturbed by his knowledge, which to him was likely to prove a most dangerous possession, he betrayed Philip to the Plymouth people. Doubted at first, he finally, by a train of circumstances,³ convinced the English that trouble was brewing, and the Plymouth governor and council determined to bring Philip to book promptly. Sassamon, a few

¹"He did for some Time apostatize from his Christian Profession and lived like an Heathen, being Philip's Secretary (for he could write a very legible Hand) and one of his Counsellors."

Mather's *Relation*, p. 74.

²Mather's *Relation*, p. 74.

Hubbard's *Narrative*, p. 14.

New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vol. xv., pp. 43, 149.

³"His Information (because it had an Indian Original

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days later, upon being inquired of, had disappeared. Search was immediately undertaken, and his body was found under the ice of Assawompsett Pond,¹ in Middleborough. On the body were a number of wounds. On the ice were his gun and his hat.

Sassamon had paid the penalty of his treachery to Philip; for while the English had pledged themselves not to reveal the source of their information, as the price of their babbling would be his own life, yet the momentous secret got out, and, reaching the ears of Philip, as it at once did, his vengeance was no less swift than it was effective. From one point of view, the English were not concerned in this matter; but after their fashion of playing

and one can hardly believe them when they speak the Truth) was not at first much regarded."

Mather's *Relation*, p. 74.

Letters written by Sassamon while with Philip are alleged to be still existing.

Drake's *Boston*.

¹The largest sheet of water in Plymouth County, as well as in Massachusetts, partly in Rochester and partly in Middleborough. It takes its name from a patch of beech-trees ("sawamps"); Assawamsett, Sawampsett, Sowampsit ("a small pond"). So "Assawampsett" signifies, according to Jonathan Butterworth, a small pond encompassed with beech-trees ("sowwamps").

Also Stiles, Winthrop's *Journal*, vol. ii., p. 123.

Dexter's *Church, King Philip's War*, p. 4, note.

Grahame says the body of Sassamon was found in a *field*. Grahame is in error. *Vide* that author, p. 240.

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the motley and neglecting no occasion where they might show their superior power and civilization, they began an immediate investigation as to who might be the perpetrator of so heinous an offence against the peace and dignity of the State, forgetting that Sassamon had traitorously betrayed his master, who had simply visited upon his subject the reward accorded the act of treason by all civilized nations.

Anxious to do themselves credit in this matter, the English found another Sassamon in the person of one of Philip's men named Patuckson, who in turn informed upon three savages,—Poggapan-offoo, dubbed Tobias by the English, who was one of Philip's councillors; also Wampapaquan, a son of Tobias; and Mattashinnamy. These were at once taken into custody, and upon indictment¹ by

¹The indictment reads: "For that being accused that they did with joynt Consent upon the 29th of January, Anno 1674, att a Place called Assowamsett Pond, wilfully and of set Purpose, and Malice fore thought and by Force and Armes, murder John Sassamon, an other Indian, by laying violent Hands on him, and striking him, or twisting his Neck untill hee was dead, and to hyde and conceale this theire said Murder, att the Tyme and Place aforesaid, did cast his dead Body through a Hole of the Iyce into the said Pond."

Drake, *Indian Chronicles*, pp. 93, 94.

"His head was broken by twisting of his Head round; which is the Way the Indians Sometimes use when they practice Murders."

Mather's *Relation*, p. 74.

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the Plymouth Court they were duly arraigned. Their pleas were "not guilty." Twelve jurors were impaneled, and to these "itt was judged very expedient by the Court, that, together with this English Jury aboue named, some of the most Indifferentest, Grauest, and Sage Indians should be admitted to be with the said Jury, and to heelp to consult and aduice with, of and concerning the Premises;" and accordingly these Indians were added to the Jury: "One called by an English Name, Hope, and Maskippague, Wannoo, George Wampye and Acanootus; these fully concurred with the Jury in their Verdict," which was in these words: "Wee of the Jury one and all, both English and Indians doe joyntly and with one Consent agree upon a Verdict." The verdict was "guilty,"¹ and the convicted respondents were again imprisoned until the sentence of the court should be carried out, which was that they should be "thence (taken) to the

¹"Wee of the Jury one and all both English and Indians doe joyntly and with one consent agree vpon a verdict: that Tobias and his son Wampapaquan, and Mattashunnamo, the Indians whoe are the prisoners, are guilty of the blood of John Sassamon, and were the murderers of him according to the bill of indictment. . . . The Names of the Jury that went on this Tryall—William Sabine, William Crocker, Edward Sturgis, William Brookes, Nathaniel Winslow, John Wadsworth, Andrew Ringe, Robert Vixon, John Done, Jonathan Banges, Jonathan Shaw, Benjamin Higgins. . . . It was judged very expedient by the Court that, together with this

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Place of Execution and there to be hanged by the Head untill their Bodies are dead."

June 8, 1675, Tobias and Mattashinnamy were hanged. Wampapaquan was shot a month later—possibly not until after¹ some overt act of hostility had been committed by wandering Wampanoags, who were impatient at Philip's apparent dilatoriness.

After this there was a season of ominous calm, though the Plymouth English, satisfied that they had scotched the serpent on their hearthstone, were lulled into a misplaced confidence. So sure were

English jury above named, some of the most indifferentest, grauest and sage Indians should be admitted to be with the said jury, and to heelp to consult and aduice with of and concerning the premises. . . . There names are as followeth, viz.: one called by the English name, Hope, and Maskippague, Wanno, Gorge, Wampye and Acanootus; these fully concurred with the aboue written jury in theire verdict."

Plymouth Colony Records, vol. v., pp. 167, 168.

¹"At this Time there was a superstitious Belief, that if one Person had killed another, the Body of the one killed, would immediately begin to bleed if approached by the Perpetrator of the Murder. In the Case of the murdered Sassamon this Test was tried, and, says Dr. Increase Mather, 'when Tobias, the suspected Murderer, came near the dead Body, it fell a Bleeding on fresh, as if it had been newly Slain; albeit, it was buried a considerable Time before that.'"

Drake, *Indian Chronicles*, p. 95.

Hubbard, pp. 14-16.

Mather, *Magnalia*, bk. vii., chap. vi., sec. 5.

Hutchinson, vol. i., pp. 260, 261.

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they of their situation that they annulled the order against selling powder and shot to the savages. It was about this time there happened a murder among the Narragansetts, but the English, with their usual inconsistency, paid no attention to this, although the victim, Tokamona, was a brother to the squaw-sachem of Sogkonate, whom the English regarded as their friend and sworn ally.¹

After this the air of Plymouth became thick with warlike rumors, and tales of plots were rife, until a pallid hue had settled over Plymouth; especially when Waban, a Natick preacher, informed General Gookin that Philip was only waiting for the woods to come into leafage, that the assailants might find some concealment in their shadows. It was two days before² the hanging of Sassamon's murderers at Plymouth that Awashonks' people held a war-dance. They were supposed to have been induced

¹ Drake notes that "it is possible that Tokamahamon may be identical with the Tokamona killed by the Narragansetts. Tokamahamon was the Indian who brought the challenge to Bradford of a snake-skin filled with powder and ball from Canonicus."

Drake, *Indian Chronicles*, pp. 50, 96.

² It has been asserted that on June 6, 1675 (two days before the execution at Plymouth), the house of Job Winslow in Swanzezy was plundered while the family were at church.

Pierce, *History of the Indians*, p. 63, note.

Drake, *Indian Chronicles*, p. 97.

Drake makes this date June 18 or 19.

Ibid, p. 163.

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to do this by the Narragansetts by the connivance of the man higher up, Philip. Plymouth Colony at this time was comprised of fourteen towns, with fourteen companies of infantry and cavalry. The Massachusetts Colony had six regiments, of which the Ancient and Honorable Artillery was one, also the Hampshire and York Regiments, the latter of which embraced in its organization the territorial limits of Maine. The Indian population in New England at this time was estimated at thirty thousand.

About a year before King Philip's War broke out Col. Benjamin Church had settled upon the Sogkonate peninsula, not far from the residence of the squaw-sachem, Awashonks. He of all the Englishmen was best liked by the Indians; and when Awashonks, in the spring of 1675, possibly April, had called her people together for the unusual festivity of a great dance, she also included Colonel Church in her courtesies. Accepting the invitation, Church took along a man who was versed in the language of the savages;¹ and upon arriving at the place appointed "they found hundreds of Indians gathered together from all parts of her domain.

¹ Charles Hazelton, the son of one of Church's tenants.

Rhode Island Colony Records, vol. iii., p. 243.

Dexter, Church's *King Philip's War*, p. 2.

The Plymouth authorities were informed by letters from a Mr. Brown of Swanzy that Philip was getting his warriors

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Awashonks herself, in a foaming sweat, was leading the dance;" but when the news got about that Colonel Church was present, the squaw-sachem ceased her gyrations and, sitting down, ordered her chief sachems to come to her, and they invited Colonel Church to join them. Once they were seated, she informed Church that Philip had sent six of his men to her, whose errand had been to induce her to enter into his plot for the destruction of the English. She went on to tell her visitor that the *Umpames*¹ (the Plymouth men) were getting together a great army whose purpose was to invade his country. Church denied this, whereupon Awashonks ordered the six Pokonoket messengers before

together; that they were assembling at Mount Hope; and that they were sending their families to the Narragansetts.

MS. Letter of Brown to Winslow, June 11, Winslow MSS.
Hubbard, p. 16.

Mather, p. 5.

This same Brown was made the bearer of "amicable" letters, both to Philip, "Weetamoo, and Ben her husband," to persuade an avoidance of hostilities; but the messenger came near paying for his interference with his life.

MS. Letter of Governor Winslow, Winslow MSS.
Hubbard, pp. 16, 17.

Life of Church, p. 9.

Drake's *Boston*, p. 399.

¹"*Umpame*, written *Apaum* in the Colony Records, is the name of Plymouth in Church's *History*; and so it is called by the natives of Massapee."

² *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. iii., p. 175.

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her.¹ She repeated to them Colonel Church's denial of their representations. The messengers, losing their good temper, were at once dismissed. After they had gone she told Church that in case she refused to join Philip he had threatened to send some of his men to kill her cattle and burn the houses of the settlers in her country, so that these injuries might be charged to her.

When Church had felt of their bullet-pouches he asked the messengers what they were going to do with their powder and bullets. They replied, "To shoot pigeons with!" He then turned to the squaw-sachem, advising her "to knock the Mount Hopes (Pokonokets) on the head and shelter herself under the protection of the English." When Church had said this Awashonks was silent. This so enraged one of her warriors that he would have then and there killed Church had he not been prevented. That portion of Church's advice which suggested Awashonks seeking the protection of the English was at once adopted, and, sending two of her men along for safe conduct until Church reached his house, these advised him to make some provision for the safety of his property; but he had decided to await the opening of hostilities.

June 7, 1675, Colonel Church was at Plymouth. On his way, in the neighborhood of Pocasset, he met the husband of Alexander's widow. This man

¹ Drake, *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., p. 65.

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had been to Mount Hope,¹ and confirmed Awashonks' story; and so active was Philip in this matter that before Church had completed his affairs at Plymouth the massacres at Swanzezy had taken place and he was unable to aid Awashonks, who, swept off her feet by the earlier victories of Philip, had cast the fortunes of her people with the Mount Hope sachem, whose superior personality was a downright factor. Possibly, had Philip not been hurried into the matter by the inability of his men to restrain their desire for vengeance, had he been allowed further time to perfect his arrangements, the results would have been more serious to the English. He had not had time to perfect his overtures to the eastern Indians, whose forays south of

¹"Mount Hope" is an Anglicism of "Montaup," the Indian name of a hill on the eastern shore of what is now Bristol, R. I., fronting Tiverton. Mount Hope Neck extended into the bay. On the one side (east) was Kikemuit River. On the other (west) was the Sowams, or Warren, River. It was some nine miles in length. On it were then three Indian villages,—Montaup (near the hill), Kikemuit (around the spring of that name), and Sowams, on the site of which is the present village of Warren. The former place was the chief seat of Massasoit. Philip is, as well, identified with the place. Trumbull gives it "Ontaup" (summit). "Moo-ontop" means "black-head," which might be applied to a thickly wooded hill.

Dexter, Church's *King Philip's War*, p. 2, note.

Colonel Church while at Plymouth confirmed the reports of the hostile attitude of Philip.

Life of Church, pp. 6-10 (edition of 1772).

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the New Hampshire border would have kept the Massachusetts people from combining their forces with those of Plymouth. As it happened, some raids were made locally about the Saco River by Mugg, when Philip found himself pitted against the soldiers of all the English colonies east of the Hudson. The first blow fell June 24, when some Indians made a raid, but only killed a few cattle until they were fired on by the English, which was the signal for the war to begin.¹ It was a day of public fasting, and the Swanzey people were coming from church. Attacked by the savages, one was killed, two were wounded.² In another part of Swanzey two others were killed that same day, while in another part six more were killed; so that in Swanzey, on the opening day of King Philip's War, the savages had levied the toll of death on nine of the hated English.

Drake is of the opinion that, while Philip's hos-

¹The superstition was entertained by the Indians that the party who fired the first gun would be vanquished in a fight. They had begun. Drake thinks they got the idea from the English.

Callendar, *R. I. Hist. Coll.*, vol. iv., p. 127.

Hutchinson, vol. i., p. 261.

Drake, *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., p. 24.

²There is much of variance among the annalists as to the first man killed in the opening days of King Philip's War; also in the date of that fateful event.

Vide note 47 of Dexter, in his *Life of Church*.

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tility was not to be questioned, he did not approve of these murders; but that, in fact, it was directly against his wishes. His men had thrown the die, and from that day until Philip's death the killing of the English and the burning of their cabins were to go on until town upon town had been utterly wasted. This devastation would have been greater but for the premature discovery of Philip's plot, by which he lost the active coöperation of the Narragansetts, who were to furnish him with four thousand warriors. Even many of Philip's people were not in sympathy with his rash proposal; but circumstances drove them to his support, finally, and while the Narragansetts were not actively engaged, they gave asylum to the non-combatants among the Wampanoags, for which the Connecticut government afterward made them pay dearly. The slightest excuse sufficed for the English, whose glut for blood was not a whit less eager than was that of their savage antagonists. It is unfortunate that the savage has had no native historian to write the story from the Indian's point of view — unless one finds in John Easton¹ something of that sort. One writer has called the Punkapog convert John Sas-

¹*Narrative* of John Easton, of Rhode Island. Mather speaks of it as having been "written by a Quaker in Road Island, who pretends to know the Truth of Things; but that it is fraught with worse Things than Mistakes." Easton's *Narrative* commences with Sassamon's death.

Drake, *Indian Chronicles*, p. 97, note.

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samon "Renegad Indian." In Easton, however, one finds the description of the private secretary of Philip far from flattering.¹ Drake regards Easton as a "wretched narrator," lacking fulness in his description of the events he attempts to perpetuate in his story. He quotes Philip, who is eloquent in his recitation of the wrongs imposed by the English upon his people; nor can the student of contemporary history deny that Philip made out a fairly good case.

So Philip, denied in his claims for justice, had created himself the final Court of Appeal, and the blood of the English was to run like water. The one bright spot in the opening day of conflict was the kindness of Philip to James Brown, of Swanzey, whose life he undoubtedly preserved by his prompt interference, Philip telling him that his father had charged him to show kindness to Mr. Brown.²

On the Sunday which witnessed the butcheries (if such we must call them) at Swanzey, while the people were at church, the plundering by the Indians began, and the alarm was sent out, an ex-

¹Drake, *Indian Chronicles*, p. 98.

²James Brown, a son of the John Brown who was assistant in the colony for seventeen years and commissioner of the United Colonies.

Baylie's *History of Plymouth Colony*, vol. iv., p. 18.

Bliss, *Rehoboth*, pp. 53, 57, 78.

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press¹ coming into Plymouth the following day. Orders were at once issued to the captains of the different town companies to march at once to Taunton, where they were to rendezvous that night (Monday), where Major Bradford was in command, supported by Captain Cudworth, of Scituate. Colonel Church was desired to leave his company and go to Rhode Island² in the interest of Plymouth. He assented, and with Major Bradford and the troops, made up of some English and friendly Indians, they set out at once for Swanzeey. Colonel Church was desired to lead the van, which he did, and they soon came to Swanzeey,³ where

¹The messenger reached Plymouth at "break of day" (Monday), June 21.

Barry, *History of Massachusetts*, vol. i., p. 410.

Life of Church, p. 10.

Hubbard, p. 69.

Governor Winslow, *MS. Letter of June 21, Military Documents, Massachusetts Archives*, vol. i., fol. 202.

Present State of New England.

²*Life of Church*, p. 5.

Easton says that the governor of Plymouth wrote them of Rhode Island at this juncture "to desire our Help with sum Boats if they had such Ocation, and for us to looke to our selfs."

Easton, *Narrative*, vol. vi., p. 16.

Arnold's *History of Rhode Island*, vol. i., p. 115.

Palfrey, *History of New England*, vol. i., p. 629.

³Barry describes Benjamin Church as "the most famous partisan warrior, perhaps, that Massachusetts produced."

Barry, *History of Massachusetts, First Period*, p. 410.

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they posted themselves at the garrisons of Major Brown and Mr. Myles,¹ where the Massachusetts troops joined them.

The barbarities at Swanzezy were followed by the killing of eight men at Mattapoissett.² Emboldened by these small successes, the Indians appeared before the Myles garrison, where they killed two men. Lying in wait among the roadside bushes, they killed all who went abroad. Skulking near the Myles garrison, they shot two sentinels, as Church says, "under the very Noses of our Forces."³ Resenting this mode of attack, Colonel Church went out with Captain Prentice's troop of horse. Colonel Church was well mounted; but, once over Mystic

¹Myles' garrison was the fortified house of Rev. John Myles, pastor of the Baptist Church in Swanzezy. It is supposed to have stood about twenty-five rods a little north of due west from Miles Bridge over Warren or Palmer River about three miles north of Warren, R. I.

MS. Haile Records, p. 42.

The Brown garrison is supposed to have been a near-by neighbor.

²A small peninsula running into Mount Hope Bay opposite the southwestern extremity of Somerset, having Cole's River on the west and Lee's River on the east, now Gardiner Neck.

Parsons (*Indian Names of Places in Rhode Island*, p. 16) gives the meaning of "Mattapoissett" as "crying chief." Dexter suggests the place where "he sits down," or "rests."

Life of Church, p. 5, note.

³Hubbard gives the number as "twelve of the troop" (*Narrative*, p. 18). He puts the date as Monday, June 28.

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Bridge, they were ambuscaded by a dozen Indians, and the English withdrew. William Hammond, "the pilot," was mortally wounded. Quartermaster Belcher was shot in one knee and had his horse killed under him. Quartermaster Gill had a musket-ball plough its way through his buff-coat.¹ The troopers were struck with a panic of fear, their commanders apparently wounded, while the troops were making off as fast as their horses' legs could carry them, and Church stormed about in his anger. Colonel Church, with Quartermaster Gill, went to the support of Hammond, who had fallen from his horse. They dismounted, but before they could reach him Hammond was dead. Lifting him to Gill's horse, Church went after his own horse, which was leaving the causeway for the woods where the Indians had been concealed. While on this errand he saw the Indians running "into the Neck," and called to his men to come

¹"A jerkin of stout stuff, (faced on the chest with stout hide) having short sleeves, used as a soldier's outer garment."

Hubbard, p. 18.

Life of Church, p. 11.

Mather, *Magnalia*, bk. vii., chap. vi., sec. 6.

Hutchinson, vol. i., p. 262.

Bliss, p. 85.

Governor Winslow, *MS. Letter to Captain Freeman*, June 28.

Major Cudworth, *MS. Letter, Military Documents, Massachusetts Archives.*, vol. i., fol. 203.

Ibid., fols. 204, 206, 208.

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back and fight the savages. While he was doing this a shower of lead whistled about his ears. One bullet lodged in his foot. The Indians had returned to their first cover, and had discharged a volley at this one man. His was a narrow escape, and, taking counsel of his discretion, he put spurs to his horse and was soon out of range.

A consultation was had at the garrison, and it was determined to march down to the Neck.¹ They had passed the bridge again, and the causeway, when some of the left wing, mistaking the right wing for the enemy, sent a volley through the bushes, by which Ensign Savage got a flesh-wound in the thigh. They came to the Neck at Kikemuit,² where they came upon the heads of the eight men killed at Mattapoisett. The savages had severed the heads

¹A strip of land between Warren and Kikemuit Rivers (the narrowest part). It was some four miles from Miles Bridge. Hubbard says, "After they had Marched about a mile & a half, they passed some Houses newly burned, &c."

Hubbard, *Narrative*, p. 19.

²It was two or three miles further on they came to the poles with the heads on them.

Ibid.

Military Documents, Massachusetts Archives, vol. i., fols. 203, 209, 210.

Life of Church, p. 11.

Hubbard, pp. 16, 69, 132.

Mather, p. 6.

Cotton Mather, *Magnalia*, bk. vii., chap. vii., sec. 6.

1 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vii., pp. 86, 87.

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from the bodies of their victims and set them up on poles. It was here that Philip had smashed his "drums" and, with his canoes, gone over to the further side of Mattapoissett River." It was gathered from this that the Indians had left the Neck, and it was the conclusion of Church that Philip's purpose was to gain over the Pocasset tribe to his interest. Church was right; for he discovered that the Indians still lingered in the vicinity of Mount Hope, where they were doubtless perfecting further plans to harass the English.² While the first engagement reflected little credit upon the troopers, Church had shown his mettle and was destined to become the most famous leader against Philip.

A grand council was now held, and it was decided to build a fort at this place.³ This was not agreeable

¹According to Roger Williams, the Indians had neither drums nor trumpets. He had known a native to make a very good drum like those of the English.

R. I. Hist. Coll., vol. i., pp. 38, 149.

The Indians used the drum at their religious dances before the English came.

DeForest, *Indians of Connecticut*, p. 29.

Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes*, vol. ii., p. 60; also, *ibid*, plate 75, where representations of Indian drums are pictured.

Dexter suggests that Philip to call in his warriors had used those found by the English.

²Hubbard and Mather so thought.

Narrative, p. 19.

Magnalia (edition of 1853), vol. ii., p. 562.

³Mr. Fessenden identifies the site of this fort as opposite

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to Church, who urged the pursuit of the savages on the Pocasset side of the river; but the council were tainted with cowardice, and left Mount Hope for Rehoboth,¹ where Southworth, tired of his office as commissary,—it being difficult to obtain provisions for the “army,” while, as Church expresses himself, “they were building a fort for nothing,”—dropped his burden of care upon the shoulders of Church, and retired to private life, for which at this time he seemed to have a special longing. Doubtless many of the rank and file would have kept him company, so great was the apprehension of the tactics of the savages. Church still urged the pursuit of the savages, doubtless because of his promise to Awashonks. Captain Fuller agreed with Church, but the fort was officially ordered to be built. This was accompanied by instructions to Captain Fuller to pick out six files of soldiers, and, attended by

the narrow entrance to Kikemuit River from Mount Hope Bay. There are several elevations of ground here, the most southwesterly of which, on the north side of the cove, is designated by Fessenden.

History of Warren, R. I., p. 71.

¹Hubbard, pp. 19, 20.

MS. Letter, Governor Winslow to Captain Cudworth, July 6, Winslow MSS.

Old Seaconke, about six miles from Swanzeey. One of the three houses used as garrisons in Swanzeey and Rehoboth at this time was located at the south end of Seekonk Plain (the southeast side of the Common).

Bliss, *Rehoboth*, p. 78.

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Church, to cross the river into the Sogkonate country to discover the status of that tribe. Church was most agreeable to the project, and, making up their escort, they set out that night (July 7), according to Hubbard, for Bristol Ferry.¹ They were transported over the ferry, and the next night they had made the Pocasset, crossing in some of the Rhode Island boats. They decided to dispose of themselves in two ambuscades, under cover of the night, anticipating that they might take the Indians by surprise; but one of Captain Fuller's party being a smoker, and led away by his appetite, his indulgence discovered their neighborhood to the savages, who, unaware of the number of the English, took to their heels and got away. Once discovered, they broke their ambuscade; and when it was breakfast-time Church called across the river to have his morning meal brought over by the boatman, who obeyed with great celerity, only to remember, when he had joined Church, that he had left behind the purpose of his thoughtless journey.² Church found some rusk-cakes in his pocket, which he divided among the company.

After breakfast, Church suggested to Captain Fuller that he would like to march in search of the savages, with such of the company as were of that

¹Then commonly known as Tripp's Ferry (from Mount Hope to Rhode Island).

²The breakfast for the party.

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mind. They reminded him that he had been somewhat over-certain that he would show them some Indians before they had left the main party, and that he had not shown them any as yet; to which he retorted, "If it was their desire he believed he could soon show them what they should say was enough." Those who were to go with Church were soon selected, and they took their way at once toward Sogkonate.¹ When they came to a small stream that made into Nunnaquohut Neck, they came upon a fresh trail. It apparently led into a thick pine swamp some distance from the Sogkonate road. After a brief council, they decided to take to the trail. They had not gone far when they were more in danger from rattlesnakes than from savages. For that reason they changed their course, passing down Punkatees Neck,² coming across a wigwam where was a considerable store of "Indian truck," which the soldiers were for appropriating; but Church forbade their meddling with the stuff.

¹Hubbard gives the number accompanying Church as fifteen. This would leave twenty-one with Captain Fuller. Church says he had *nineteen* men along, besides the pilot, or guide.

Narrative, p. 24.

²Also called Pocasset Neck, the entrance to which is directly west from Tiverton Four Corners.

While Colonel Church was following the trail of Philip through the Pocasset swamps, the colonies were raising troops, and, fortifying Mount Hope, they had sent an embassy to the Narragansetts. The Massachusetts commissioners were

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Crossing a small creek, they again struck a fresh Indian trail, and, exercising great caution, they got into a field of peas, where the party divided, to soon discover two Indians coming toward them. Church's party fell flat to the ground; but the other party, under David Lake, less cautious, was discovered by the savages, who started to run away, when Church called out to them that he would not hurt them, whereat they ran the faster. Church made after them, when one of the savages turned to send a bullet back upon the pursuers. One of the English returned the shot, but with what effect they were uncertain.

Church then took up his march over a bit of open ground where the forest on one side was very dense, and, ordering the company to march at double distance, suddenly out of the shadows of the woods a volley from some fifty muskets sent the bullets whistling over their heads. Church, upon discovering his men unhurt, "blessed God and called to his Men not to discharge all their Guns at once, lest

joined by those from Connecticut, who, together, bullied the Narragansetts into a treaty of neutrality, and had exacted of them hostages for their fidelity in the observing of their agreement.

Hubbard, pp. 20-23.

Hutchinson, vol. i., p. 263.

Drake's *Boston*, p. 405.

Letters of Governor Leverett, Captain Hutchinson, Governor Winslow, Captain Cudworth, in the Winslow MSS.

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the enemy should take the advantage of such an opportunity to run upon them with their Hatches." Church ordered a return to the peas-fields, and when they came to the fence he directed them to "clap under the Fence and lye close." Above them was a hill, which seemed to the English to move, so many Indians were gathered upon its crest. They were making a flank movement. Church's first thought was to wonder what had become of the boats that were to follow his movements by water. He discovered them drawn up on the sands of Sandy Point,¹ on the island side of the river. A number of "horse and foot" were there, much to his surprise.

His boats had been over that morning and landed a body of soldiers at Fogland² for the purpose of bringing off some cattle and horses; but, falling into an ambuscade, a number of them were wounded by the savages.³

¹ McCarry's Point, on the Portsmouth shore. What is now called Sandy Point is a mile and a half further south.

²A spur projecting from the western shore of Punkatees Neck. It reaches a third of the way across Narragansett River toward Portsmouth, on the island of Rhode Island.

³ It was on this same day that five men who had come from Rhode Island to look up their cattle which had strayed over to Pocasset Neck were attacked by the same party of savages. One of these was a servant of Church, who had a leg broken in the fight.

Hubbard, *Narrative*, p. 25.

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Church ordered a retreat. Some made a run for a wall; some stripped off their white shirts as a signal to the English at Sandy Point, when three guns were discharged to attract their attention. The men were ordered to take the wall; but some, being hungry, stopped to pluck a few peas,¹ when the savages poured in upon the stragglers a volley at close range, that so suddenly cloyed their appetites that they came tumbling over a hedge and down the bank, where Church and those who were not so hungry had found shelter. One man was missing, a son of Constant Southworth. He had been seen to fall. When the savages fired Southworth had fallen among the pea-vines. As one of the savages exposed himself, Southworth shot him in the forehead, and, taking to his legs, dropped over the hedge. The English were short of powder,² and, unable to make a strong defence, were beset immediately, on all sides but the water, by a countless horde of savages. Their peril was increasing with every moment; but one of the boats came to them from the island, which, by reason of the guns of the Indians, was unable to get near the shore. Church commanded those in the boat either to send a canoe

¹This peas-field belonged to Captain Almys.

²Church's party not only started out with a short allowance of powder, but that served out to him for this expedition was not of a "strong" carrying-quality. The colonists at this time were building their first powder-mill on the Neponset River.

History of Dorchester, pp. 607-609.

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ashore, or to leave, as he would fire upon them for a set of cowards.

The boat-people, taking them at their word and glad to get away, left Church and his party to save themselves as best they could. The savages at this assailed the little party with a storm of bullets, making the air hideous with their whoops. The English began to set up a shelter of stones, which helped them somewhat, so that when night came on their condition was easier. Then they discovered a sloop coming toward them from Gould Island.¹ The wind being fair, the sloop dropped anchor off shore, sending a canoe under cover of a brisk fire upon the savages, by which Church's party were relieved of their peril. Church was the last to get off. Forgetting his hat and sword at a well where he went to slake his thirst, putting all his powder into his gun, and presenting it to the savages, he went to the well and, picking up his hat and sword, discharged his musket as a farewell courtesy. Once in the canoe, he made for the sloop amid the whistling of scores of bullets, one of which cut a lock of hair from his head, while another struck a stake he happened to be leaning his breast against.

¹A small island some three-quarters of a mile south of the Stone Bridge. Thomas Gould bought the island of the Indians, March 28, 1657. It had its name from its first English owner.

Arnold, *History of Rhode Island*, vol. i., p. 266.

Fowler's *Historical Sketch of Fall River*, p. 9.

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This engagement lasted six hours against tremendous odds, and it is a miracle that Church got away with his men unharmed. There were three hundred savages in the assailing-party. The following day Church was joined by Captain Fuller,¹ whom he had left at Pocasset, who, as well, had a skirmish with the savages, getting off with two wounded men. An excursion was now planned to search out Weetamoo's camp, which a deserter from her people told Church was at the Cape of Pocasset.

The best soldiers were selected for what was likely to prove a perilous enterprise. The officer in charge was evidently a coward²; for he had hardly gone two miles on the march when he wheeled about and returned to the garrison.³ Church, with

¹Hubbard says that Captain Fuller "either saw or heard too many Indians for himself and his Company to deal with, which made him and them betake themselves to an House near the Water-side, from whence they were fetched by a sloop before night to Road Island."

Hubbard, *Narrative*, p. 24.

²History does not give the name of this officer. Church borrowed three files of men of Captain Henchman, with his lieutenant. It was doubtless this lieutenant who was told by Church, who detested cowardice, to lead his men "to yonder Wind-mill [the mill was on the Rhode Island side, across the water], and there they will be out of danger of being killed by the Enemy, and we shall have less trouble to supply them with provisions!"

Ibid, p. 25.

Life of Church, p. 12.

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Thomas Baxter and Captain Hunter, a Christianized Nipmuck, started off on their march. They surprised three savages, wounding one, who happened to be a kinsman of Hunter. The wounded savage asked that he might take a whiff of tobacco, and while he was smoking, Hunter despatched him with a blow from his hatchet. They went on to the camp of Weetamoo,¹ where they found a party of savages. They killed one Indian. Their exploit ended, they returned to their sloop. They were pursued, but got away safely, and the next day had returned to the Mount Hope garrison.

Shortly after this, July 15, an expedition was sent against Philip. Leaving Rehoboth, the English marched to Mattapoisett, thence to Taunton, and the next day they marched eighteen miles to find Philip in a swamp on Pocasset Neck. This strip of country is some seven miles in length, and presents a broken aspect. The English made preparations for an immediate attack. Henchman, with an hundred men, deployed along the edge of the swamp to see that the Indians did not get away; but Philip, under cover of night, made his escape either by wading Taunton River or upon some rudely constructed rafts, taking his course for the country of the Nipmucks. So the purpose of the English on this occasion fell through.

¹This camp was on the north side of Pocasset Cedar Swamp. It is some two and one-half miles south of Fall River, between Watuppa Pond and Mount Hope Bay.

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The Indians began their attacks on the isolated towns, and the white settlers were hurried from place to place as the demands for personal safety required, generally seeking the larger settlements and garrisons. Even there they were not proof against the wiles of their savage foes, who skulked from one place to another, or hid themselves in the deeper mysteries of the woods by day, to come out of their lairs when the dusk had made it possible for them to swoop down upon their prey like a noiseless scourge to commit their fiendish butcheries; then, by the flare of a burning cabin, to fade away, as they came, into the silence of darkness. It was a short shrift,— a few musket-shots or crashing blows of a tomahawk, the kindling of a fire, and the morning sun betrayed a heap of smoking embers, the stark victims of a warfare against which no human foresight could prevail. Only the stout garrison-house or the sentineled fort afforded safety, and even that was preserved only by a sleepless vigilance and an indomitable courage.

Before June 24 eighteen houses had been burned at Mount Hope within the Swanzey frontier. In Dartmouth a woman had been killed and another made captive, to be released a few days later. Eight houses in Seekonk had been destroyed. At Namasket, where John Sassamon paid the penalty of his treachery, a man was walking in his corn-field when a shot from a savage broke his thigh, and for forty-eight hours he lay slowly dying. The news

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of these happenings filled the English settlers with terror. The Plymouth forces found their marches *en bloc* of no avail. The savage was as elusive as he was wary; so a garrison was left at Mount Hope and a new fort was thrown up at Pocasset.¹ A few of the troops were afterward concentrated at the most exposed places, while the remaining portion was put under Captain Henschman, as a flying squadron, ready at a moment's warning to march wherever needed to check further depredations.²

About this time an incident took place at the Russell garrison at Poneganset that meant much to the English; but with their usual lack of perspicuity, they failed to profit by it.³

¹*MS. Letter* of Governor Winslow to Captain Cudworth, dated July 6, in the Winslow MSS.

Cudworth, in *1 Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. vi., p. 85.

Life of Church, p. 13.

Hubbard, p. 27.

Another *MS. Letter* of Captain Thomas to Governor Winslow, dated "Mount Hope Neck, Aug. 11," speaks of the erection of a fort at that place (Pocasset), seventy feet square, by Captain Henschman, and advises a flying army. This fort was probably called Fort Leverett, as by letter of Captain Henschman, dated July 31, "from *Fort Leverett*."

Military Papers, vol. i., p. 232.

²Henschman, *MS. Letter*, July 31, in *Military Papers*, vol. i., p. 232.

³*Life of Church*, p. 13.

Faint traces of the cellar of this garrison-house, as late as 1865, might be seen near a spring on the east side of the

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Captain Eels commanded the garrison, to which place most of the Plymouth forces had been ordered. A number of savages had been met with in the neighborhood; and, having been promised favorable terms by Captain Eels and one Ralph Earl, they gave themselves up to the English; then, instead of using them fairly, despite the protestation of Eels and Earl,¹ once they were in the power of the government, they were taken to Plymouth to be sold and "transported out of the Country, being about Eight-score Persons." This action was opposed by Church, but unavailingly.²

While these events were transpiring Philip was pushing his avoidance of the English over the Paw-

Apponegansett River, about a mile from its mouth. John Russell was one of the earliest settlers of Dartmouth.

¹ Ralph Earl was the son of Ralph of Portsmouth, R. I. A person of that name was fined at Plymouth, October 5, 1663, for "drawing his wife in an uncivil manner over the snow."

Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, vol. ii., p. 91.

Plymouth Colony Records, vol. iv., chap. v., pp. 10, 36.

History of Dorchester, p. 51.

Deane's *Scituate*, p. 197.

Barry's *Hanover*, p. 301.

² On the second of September (1675) "similar action was taken in the case of 'a certaine p'sell of Indians lately come in to Sandwich in a submissive way to this collonie.'" They were adjudged to be "in the same condition of rebellion" and "condemned unto p'petuall servitude." There were fifty-seven of them, which, added to the former hundred and twelve, made not far from Church's eightscore. Thacher

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tuxet River. A party of Mohegans under Uncas made their way to Boston, from whence they were sent by way of Plymouth to join the forces of that colony, along with a small company of "praying Indians." It was a somewhat roundabout route, else they would have reached Seekonk in season to have intercepted him on his flight from the Pocasset swamp. It is possible that but for this blunder Philip's power would have been broken.¹ The English, with their Mohegan allies, came up with Philip on Seekonk Plain, where an unimportant skirmish took place. But for the eagerness of the

says (October 4, 1675), "One hundred and seventy-eight [Indians] had recently been shipped on board of Captain Sprague, for Cadiz."

A curious document has been preserved, of date of August 14, 1676, showing Roger Williams was at the head of a committee in Rhode Island which was empowered to dispose of some Indian captives. Their terms of servitude depended upon their ages. The youngest were given the longest terms. Judge Staples says that generally the captured savages "were sent out of the country and sold for slaves for life."

Plymouth Colony Records, vol. v., pp. 173, 174.

Thacher, *History of Plymouth*, p. 136.

R. I. Hist. Coll., vol. v., p. 170.

¹"Reaching the swamp in which he [Philip] was concealed, they resolutely entered, and commenced the attack. Above a hundred wigwams, of green bark, covering about four acres of ground, were found deserted by all save one old man. The Indians had withdrawn deeper into the swamp. The English followed, but in disorder, and firing at random at the

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Mohegans for plunder, and the interference of a "Superior Officer," which gave Philip and his warriors opportunity to escape, Philip's entire force might have been captured.¹ While another fort was being built at Pocasset, the savages were making their way to the westward.

The savages had visited Middleborough, Taunton, and Dartmouth, leaving a trail of destruction in their wake. Just after sundown they had ap-

quaking of every bush, many of their own men were hit. What number of the savages were slain is uncertain. Probably but few, as their position was secure. Night coming on the English retreated. The attempt was a failure, and the more unfortunate because, as they afterward learned, Philip was in such distress that, had they followed him half an hour longer, he would have been compelled to surrender."

Barry, *History of Massachusetts*, vol. ii., p. 414.

Hubbard, p. 26.

Hutchinson, pp. 265, 267, *note*.

¹*Military Papers*, vol. i., pp. 229, 231.

Hubbard, pp. 27, 28.

Baylie's *History of Plymouth*, vol. iii., p. 54.

Bliss, *Rehoboth*, p. 87.

Drake's *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., p. 28.

Hubbard names Captain HENCHMAN in this connection, and adds: "What the reason was why Philip was followed no further, it is better to suspend, than too critically to inquire." The inference, taken with what Church says, is that HENCHMAN was the man upon whom the blame rested.

Hubbard, *Narrative*, p. 28.

Bliss, *Rehoboth*, p. 87.

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peared at Mendon, where some six were killed.¹ Early in August a descent was made on Brookfield (Quaboag), which was destroyed, the Indians under a flag of truce having killed its three leaders,—Sires, Pritchett, and Coy.² The fine village of Deerfield (Pocumtuck) was to be attacked later. The Indian tribes along the Connecticut River had gone over to Philip in August, and the plan was to destroy all the settlements in Hampshire County. The first encounter was in the Hopewell Swamp (now Whately), where nine English were killed. Then came the desolations of Deerfield and Northfield. At Springfield they were not so successful. The Deerfield tragedy culminated on September 12, 1675. Its houses had been mostly burned, and such of the people as had not been butchered fled to Hatfield. They had left their grain stacked in the meadows, and the savages, either neglecting to

¹ Hubbard, *Narrative*, vol. ii., p. 43 (Drake's edition)

On the day preceding the attack on Mendon an order was passed for a week's patrol of twelve men, who were to be joined by a half-dozen friendly Indians of Captain Gookin's, who were to scout the woods from Mendon to Hingham.

Military Papers, vol. i., p. 213.

Baylie, vol. iii., pp. 41, 47, 48.

Life of Church, p. 23.

1 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vi., p. 91.

² Hubbard, *Narrative*, p. 43.

Wheeler's *Narrative*, in Foote's *West Brookfield Discourse*, p. 35.

Sheldon's *Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 85.

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destroy it or hoping the English would return for it, were to reap a bloody harvest.

Some three days after, Captain Lathrop, with eighty men, besides the teamsters and carts, went over to Deerfield to thresh the grain and convey it to headquarters. The savages let them alone until they made ready to return. They got as far as Bloody Brook, when they were attacked by "seven or eight hundred Indians, whereby himself and most of his soldiers, to the Number of seventy-three were cut off."¹ Before this, there had been signs of uneasiness among the Narragansetts. The Nipmucks had not fully decided to join fortunes with Philip, and the latter part of this month of July, Captain Hutchinson of Boston, with Captain Wheeler of Concord, and a small party of soldiers, were despatched to Quaboag to negotiate a treaty with the Nipmucks. They reached Brookfield on a Sunday. There were no Indians there to meet them. They sent out scouts to discover their whereabouts, and, meeting some of the Nipmuck chiefs, these latter promised to meet the English at Wickabaug Pond, near Brookfield. The savages did not come, and Hutchinson, breaking camp again, kept on toward the Mominimisset settlement. Here on

¹ Hubbard, *Narrative*, vol. ii., p. 48.

Ibid, pp. 38, 39.

Military Papers, vol. i., p. 264; vol. ii., p. 33.

Mather, p. 12.

Everett's *Oration at Deerfield*.

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one side of the trail was a jungle of swamp-lands. On the other side was a perpendicular wall of earth and rock. Hardly had Hutchinson and his party entered this narrow defile than they were attacked by two or three hundred Indians. Eight of the English were killed outright. Both Hutchinson and Wheeler were wounded, with three others.¹ They made their escape from this ambushade, entering the town, to which the savages had set fire in several places. All the houses were soon in ashes, except such as the Indians had reserved for their own accommodations, and one other of some considerable size, in which the settlers and soldiers had taken refuge. This was attacked, and for a space of two days the savages pelted it with lead. Combustibles were heaped against its walls; wads of cloth saturated with inflammable matter were fastened to arrows and shot upon the roof; but their efforts were still abortive. Finally, heaping a cart with hay and straw, they pushed it against the building and, setting it aflame, had no better success; for a heavy shower of rain passed over the town at the critical moment. Within were seventy men, women, and children; while without, a horde of painted devils were making the day hideous with their noisy antics. Escape seemed impossible. Of the two messengers who got away undiscovered, only one reached Boston safely. He told a story of

¹Sheldon's *Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 85.

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peril that sent a party of forty-six men and five Indians, under Major Willard and Captain Parker, to Brookfield. They came in on the evening of August 4, just in time to divert the savages from a sure conquest. They engaged the savages at once in a fight that lasted through most of that night. As the dawn came, the Indians burned the remaining house and made for a swamp a few miles away, where they joined Philip, who had there gathered the remnants of his tribe about him.¹ The Indians, in this Brookfield fight, were severely punished, with a loss of some eighty warriors killed and wounded.

This same month, a hostile meeting occurred, not far from Deerfield, between the English and the savages under Puckquahow, a Nipmuck of Wenimisset. The encounter grew out of a demand upon the Indians to give up their guns, to which they agreed; but, instead, they attempted to join Philip, abandoning their fort in the night to take refuge in a stealthy flight.

¹ Barry, vol. ii., pp. 416, 417.

Military Papers, vol. ii., p. 33.

Wheeler's *Narrative*, *N. H. Hist. Coll.*, vol. ii., pp. 6-23.

Hubbard, pp. 31, 35, 133.

Mather's *Magnalia*, bk. vii., chap. vi.

Hutchinson, vol. i., pp. 265-267.

Fiske, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. i., pp. 259-261.

Baylie, vol. iii., pp. 58-61.

Whitney's *Worcester*, pp. 63-67.

Shattuck's *Concord*, pp. 48, 49.

Drake's *Boston*, p. 406.

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Forgetting the experience of Captain Hutchinson at Brookfield, Captains Lothrop and Beers, finding the fort vacated, took up the trail of the fleeing savages. The first appraisal the English had of the proximity of the Indians was a murderous discharge of some forty muskets from the edge of a swamp. In this surprise Lothrop lost six men killed outright, and three wounded. In the fight that ensued the Indians lost twenty-six.¹

This was the first engagement in the Connecticut Valley between the settlers and the Indians. It was a savage precursor of the later ravages upon the English settlements in the vicinity.²

At this time Deerfield had a population of about one hundred twenty-five inhabitants. Of that number about one-fifth were men. It was a straggling settlement of rude dwellings, three of which had been fortified with palisades. Its garrison was comprised of Captain Watts and ten men.

The savages swooped down upon these settlers like lightning out of a clear sky; and while the settlements were not many in number, they were easily reached up stream, or down.

¹For a description of the fight at Wequamps, near the so-called "Potumtuck path," *vide* Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 91; *Military Papers*, vol. ii., p. 33; Hubbard, pp. 36, 37; Mather; Drake's *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., p. 21; Baylie, vol. iii., pp. 66, 67; Barry, vol. i., p. 420.

²Sheldon's *Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 91.

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Adjoining the Connecticut Colony was Long-meadow, on the east bank. To the north was Springfield, the home of Major Pyncheon, who had been active in propagating the settlements of the English along the Connecticut. Hatfield, a slender settlement, and Northfield, or Squakeag, counting even fewer settlers, were not far away. On the west bank of the river was Westfield, a little hamlet. Northampton was in swathing-bands. Hadley, however, was a place of some importance; and between Pocumtuck (Deerfield) and the Connecticut, dotting sparsely the Pocumtuck meadows, were the cabins, here and there, of settlers who had been attracted to these fertile intervalles. To the westward of this beautiful region was the wilderness, that presented an unbroken verdure across country to the Hudson. Hardly a decade before, where the smokes of these settlers curled lazily toward the morning sun had been a like realm of wooded silences.

It was a week after the ambushment of Captains Lathrop and Beers in the neighborhood of Sugar-Loaf Hill that a day of fasting and prayer was being observed by the Connecticut Valley settlers, September 1, and Hadley's single street was echoing to the whoops of a band of savages. The Indians were on the point of a victorious surprise, when the wraith of a venerable warrior rallied the frightened garrison, and, leading the soldiers into the thick of the fray, drove the savages from the

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village into the deeper recesses of the surrounding woods.¹

Deerfield was attacked the same day. At that place one man was killed. James Eggleston, a soldier of Windsor, was out looking for his horse. In the near-by woods lurked sixty savages. He discovered them, and was able to alarm the Deerfield settlers before he was shot. The settlers got into the garrison-house safely, and, with a dozen armed men in each, they were beyond danger. After burning the deserted cabins of the settlers, and losing two of their warriors, the savages retired.

¹This story of the appearance of the old man clad in the fashion of a former generation, who vanished as mysteriously as he came, has been garbed in truth by more than one historical writer. Barry (vol. i., p. 420) says: "Years elapsed before it was known that Colonel Goffe, who had been a commander in the army of Cromwell's Invincibles, and who was then concealed in Hadley, was the one to whom they were indebted for so timely a deliverance."

Vide Hutchinson, vol. i., p. 201.

Stiles, *Judges*, pp. 109, 110.

The distinguished historian of Deerfield, Mr. George Sheldon, in his history of that town (vol. i., p. 94), says: "A full *exposé* of this story by the writer [Mr. Sheldon] may be found in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, October, 1874. Also see Beach's *Indian Miscellany*, p. 461, and *History and Proceedings of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association*, vol. i., p. 202."

Vide, also, Hoyt's *Antiquarian Researches*, p. 153; Judd's *Hadley*, pp. 145, 214; Holmes's *Annals*, vol. i., p. 272; Palfrey's *New England*, vol. ii., p. 507; vol. iii., p. 164.

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Sheldon says the leader of the savages is not known.¹

On this same day an attack was made on Northfield. Captain Beers had been sent to the relief of the place, but was ambushed and killed, with twenty of his men.²

This part of Massachusetts was infested with prowling savages. They had made a sortie upon Hadley, but that place was not to fall until the next year. Hatfield, on the west side of the Connecticut, was assailed, on October 19, by seven hundred Indians; but so vigorous was the defence made by Captains Morely and Pool, who were quartered there, assisted by Sergeant Norton, that only one of the whites was killed.³ The scouts sent out by Norton were more unlucky, some eight of whom were surprised and shot.⁴ Springfield, fourteen days be-

¹Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 93.

²*Military Papers*, vol. i., p. 254.; vol. ii., p. 33.
Hubbard, p. 37.

Mather.

Baylie, vol. iii., p. 68.

Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., p. 95.

Temple and Sheldon, *History of Northfield*.

³*Military Papers*, vol. ii., p. 33.

Hubbard, p. 33.

Mather, p. 18.

Barry, *History of Massachusetts*, vol. i., p. 422.

⁴Hubbard, *Narrative*, p. 43.

Military Papers, vol. ii., p. 33.

Mather, p. 18.

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fore, had been visited by a large body of savages, some three or four hundred, who burned thirty-five houses and butchered three or four of the settlers.¹ It was a desultory warfare, which, as the autumn advanced, was carried on by the savages as far east as Casco Bay. Here, at Casco, was a considerable settlement, though somewhat scattered along the shore of the bay. Purchas² was down Pejepscot way, on New Meadows River (Brunswick). In mid-summer the Indians had robbed his house of guns and ammunition, and had killed the cattle. Purchas and his wife got away on their horses. Later, in August, there was a bloody fray at Casco (Portland, Maine), when some twenty-five of the English

¹ Barry gives the number of houses and barns burned by the savages in this raid as "upwards of fifty, including that of the minister."

History of Massachusetts, vol. ii., p. 422.

Military Papers, vol. ii., pp. 274-291.

Ibid, vol. ii., p. 33.

Hubbard, pp. 41-47.

Mather, p. 17.

²Thomas Purchas had his grant of land from the Council of Plymouth, according to Willis; but the patent having been lost, it is not impossible that the same may have been issued by James I. It may have been destroyed along with the burning of Purchas's house by the savages. Purchas has been regarded as the first settler in the neighborhood of the Androscoggin. 1628 is the supposed year of his coming, building his cabin at Ten-Mile Falls (Little River), as common report would suggest. It may have been at Fish-house Hill,

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went to the north end of the bay after corn, and with some purpose of locating the savages. They came across three Indians and, intercepting them, they killed one and wounded another. The third escaped to a larger party of savages, who, in turn, attacked the English and drove them to their sloop, the English losing two boats laden with their harvest.¹

or at New Meadows. By some he is supposed to have engaged in the fur trade with the Indians. He was known to have carried on a fishery business.

In 1675 Purchas bought of the Indians land on the Pejepscot River, and it may be assumed that the ill-feeling and jealousy entertained on the part of the Indian for his white neighbor included Purchas, who undoubtedly with the growing years had dropped his fishing to engage in the not less lucrative enterprise of trading for Indian peltry. It is evident Purchas incurred the animosity of his aboriginal neighbors, as the raid of some twenty savages upon his house would seem to verify. Wheeler, in his *History of Brunswick*, gives the date as September 4, or 5, 1675. It was sometime in the following year that the Purchas house was burned.

Willis, p. 64.

Pejepscot Records, Statement of Title.

Williamson, *History of Maine*, vol. i., p. 520, *et seq.*

Wheeler's *History of Brunswick*, pt. i., p. 49.

Purchas's widow gives the age of her husband as one hundred and one years at his decease.

Probate Records, Lynn, Mass. A copy at Salem.

For an extended biographical notice, *vide* Wheeler's *History of Brunswick*, pt. iii., pp. 788-797.

¹Willis, *History of Portland, Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, p. 211.

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This was the real opening of hostilities in this section. They wreaked their vengeance on the family of Thomas Wakely, who lived out in Falmouth, killing him, his wife, and their three children, carrying off a daughter of eleven years, Elizabeth. The following morning Lieutenant George Ingersoll,¹ who had seen the smoke of Wakely's cabin, went out with a file of soldiers to find the Wakelys slaughtered and their cabin in ashes. The Wakely girl was some months after given into the custody of Major Waldron, at Dover.

It is evident that the settlers at Casco, taking the alarm, had sought safer quarters. The savages next appeared at Saco, on the Saco River, where they burned the house of Captain Bonython and the mills of Major Phillip. The settlers taking refuge in Phillip's garrison, being beyond the reach of the savages, the latter went over to Blue Point, where they killed several of the settlers there, after

¹Willis thinks it was Elisha Ingersoll who first came to Falmouth Neck (Casco), where he was known as the "hermit." He was the eldest son of John Ingersoll, and was a large owner of lands about Casco before the Indian wars. Lieutenant George Ingersoll went to Salem. One finds this on the Salem records: "These persons, (the Ingersolls and some others,) being driven from their habitations by the barbarous heathen, are admitted as inhabitants into town, they, most of them informing they have provisions for themselves and families one year."

Smith and Deane, *Journals*, pp. 54, 55, note.

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which, returning to Saco, they committed other depredations. In this raid the two Algers, who lived in the vicinity of what is now Scottow's Hill, a rolling land at the head of the Scarborough Marshes, were killed. From Saco, they returned to Casco, where they put the torch to the cabins of its settlers, among them being the house of Lieutenant Ingersoll. Robert Jordan's house at Spurwink was burned. It was undoubtedly at this time that Ambrose Boaden, the old Spurwink ferry-man, was killed.

The estimate of the English killed in the Maine province in these forays is given as about fifty, while of the Indians the number was not less than ninety. The Indians engaged in these depredations were of the Saco and Androscoggin tribes, of which the latter were the most to be feared. The Tarratines did not engage in the savageries of this year, but, under the famous Mugg, they took their full share in the atrocities of the following year. These, supplied with arms and ammunition by the Canadian French, instigated by their Jesuit priests, were soon to become a terror to the English between the Piscataqua and Kennebec Rivers. Summing up this work at Saco, they had killed thirteen of the settlers and burned twenty-seven of their houses and mills.¹

¹ Willis, *History of Portland*, p. 213.

An incident said to have taken place at Indian Island has been designated as leading up to the outbreak of the Saco Indians in the summer of 1676. Squando's squaw, with her

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Winter Harbor was attacked, after which the savages went southward toward the Piscataqua. Pendleton, at Wells, had made an appeal to Boston. The settlers went into the nearest garrisons; but such as did not suffered the penalty of their negligence.

The savages kept to the seashore, and it was in sight of the salt water most of the settlers had their cabins. Wells, Cape Porpoise, or Arundel, whose complement of soldiers did not exceed eighty, in turn felt the avenging hand of the red man. At Wells the first house attacked was that of William Symonds. He had moved his family to the garrison, but his servant, going outside in the early morning to attend some matters at the house, Mather says, "tarried longer than was needful to provide something for himself. The Indians invited themselves to breakfast with him, making the poor fellow pay

babe, was out on the river in a canoe. A party of English sailors who had heard that an Indian babe could swim as naturally as a gosling, rammed the canoe of Squando's squaw. It was overturned, and its occupants were thrown into the stream. They were drowned. It was a senseless outrage, and one that Squando never forgot.

Willis, p. 218.

Another cause assigned was the capture of some Cape Sable Indians, who were sold by some Englishmen as slaves. Another still, and probably of much weight, was the prohibition of the sale to the savages of guns and ammunition, both of which had become necessary to their existence.

Ibid.

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the shot when they had done, with the loss of his life." They then burned the house. Near-by lived the Cross family. One of the family, whose mind was unbalanced, wandering from home, was killed the following week.¹

Major Waldron succeeded in getting the Indians to agree to a truce, but so far as the latter were concerned it had very little of sanctity to them. But for "the acts of folly and wickedness on our part," says Bourne, this armistice might have become a lasting one. The people were fearful, and nourishing a spirit of revenge, which was fed by rumors of a new movement of the savages against the settlers, they were prompted to capture such of the savages as they could, who were sold as slaves. Some of these savages were captured near Pemaquid, and the Indians began their ravages, to continue them until the winter drove them into their villages about the upper waters of the Saco and Androscoggin. It is possible that but for the snows which covered the ground at the time Waldron essayed his efforts at making peace, the same meager results would have followed.

¹The Indians had a superstitious reverence for *non compos* individuals, and as captives they were allowed to wander as they pleased. They never killed them, or tortured them as they did other captives. In that light Bourne's relation of the Indians killing young Cross is an exception.

Bourne, *History of Kennebunk*.

Cooper, *Last of the Mohicans*.

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Returning to the scene of current events in Massachusetts, in the opening days of winter Westfield was destroyed, and a village midway between Marlborough and Quaboag shared the same fate. Bull's garrison-house at Pattiquemscot was surprised, which somewhat interfered, according to Hubbard, with the proposed expedition against the rendezvous of the savages known as Canonicus' Fort. It was decided, upon the assurance that the Narragansetts were pledged to the support of Philip, that an army should be sent to head off their hostile designs.¹ Governor Winslow was to command the expedition. He gave the command of a company to Colonel Church, who declined, with the excuse that he preferred to go along as a *Reformado*.² He went, however, with Major Smith to their garrison in the Narragansett country (possibly the fort at Rehoboth, Myles' garrison), with the object of surprising Pumham³ and his village;

¹*Plymouth Colony Records*, vol. x., pp. 365, 458.

Barry, *History of Massachusetts*, vol. i., p. 426.

Trumbull, *Connecticut*, vol. i., p. 337.

Arnold, *Rhode Island*, vol. i., p. 403.

New England Genealogical Register, vol. viii., p. 241.

²A reformed officer, unattached, or on half-pay, doing duty in the regiment.

Baylie.

³Sachem of Shawomet, a neck of land that extends into Narragansett Bay, having Providence River on the east and Coweset Bay on the south and west; it being the eastern

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but Pumham, in some way getting news of the purpose of the English, made his escape.

Getting such information as he could, Church made a suggestion to those with him to make a sortie against the savages. As Church says, "being brisk blades," they assented. The night fell with the wintry cold, and under the light of the moon they set out, and before the dawn they had captured eighteen Indians, whom they brought back to the garrison as a breakfast seasoning for the general.¹

The next move of the English was upon a fort which the Indians had built in a swamp, and within which they had collected so that they formed a considerable party. The English had experienced a somewhat disastrous campaign in the western sections of the colony, and this movement, already outlined, was determined upon on the information that Philip had established his winter quarters among the Narragansetts.² The troops of the colony had been called in from the field, and reorganized, and the army of one thousand men was equipped for a sharp campaign. Their objective was the stronghold of the Narragansetts. General Josiah

part of Warwick, R. I. Perhaps from *pumttohham* ("he goes by water"). This etymology is favored by position, at least.

¹*Life of Church* (Dexter's edition).

²*Military Papers*, vol. ii., p. 33.
Hubbard, pp. 44-46.

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Winslow,¹ as before stated, was in command; Major Samuel Appleton commanded the Manchester regiment; Major William Bradford that of Plymouth; while Major Robert Treat was at the head of those of Connecticut. War against the Narragansetts was declared November 2, 1675, at a meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies held at Boston on that same day, which had also been set apart as a "solemn day of prayer and humiliation." Colonel Benjamin Church acted as aide to Winslow, who assumed command of the combined forces, December 9, which were drawn up on Dedham Plain. They were formally turned over to him by Major-General Denison. There were six companies of foot (four hundred sixty-five men), with Captain Prentice's troop of seventy-five horse.² The full quota of the Massachusetts Colony was five hundred seventy-five soldiers, with the usual complement of scouts and camp-followers.

The proclamation was made to the soldiers that upon the taking of this fort and the driving out of the savages from the Narragansett country they

¹*Military Papers*, vol. ii., pp. 39, 53, 67-71.

²*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. i., pp. 66-68.

Trumbull, vol. i., p. 337.

Baylie, vol. iii., p. 88.

³For list of some of these soldiers, see *New England Genealogical Register*, vol. viii., pp. 241-243. For original muster-rolls, see *Military Papers*, vol. i., pp. 294, 299; vol. ii., pp. 72-100.

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should receive, not only their usual wage, but a gratuity in the lands of the colony. This same afternoon Winslow marched his army to what is now Attleboro, where they pitched camp at Woodcock's garrison. At eventide of December 10 they came to Seekonk, where they found a vessel which had brought them their supplies by water, and here, as well, was Major Wickford, who took Captain Mosely and his company across to the Wickford garrison. Some others went along to make arrangements for the comfortable quartering of the troops; as well, Colonel Church, who as aide went along to see that General Winslow was properly provided for. The remainder of the troops were taken by ferry to Providence, where they formed a junction with Mosely, December 11.

On the following evening the entire army left Carpenter's, crossed the Pawtuxet, and made the initial advance to what is now Warwick. They were in Pumham's country, and their desire was to accomplish the capture of that sachem; but their English scouts blundered, the price of which was the utter failure of their purpose. The vessels from Seekonk were in when they reached Smith's garrison-house, December 13. Here the party went into camp. As something of a solace to their disappointment, Captain Mosely brought in thirty-six Indians, among whom was Peter, who was to guide the English to success. December 14 Winslow started his entire force, with the exception of Cap-

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tain Oliver's company, which kept garrison and patrolled the outlying country. The army, on the first day's march, destroyed one hundred fifty wigwams, killing seven Indians and capturing nine. In the meantime Captain Oliver had despatched thirty men from the garrison to scour the adjacent country. They killed two savages and captured four others. So far, fortune had not been averse to the English, for up to that time they had captured or killed fifty Indians, forty of whom they then held as prisoners. Captain Oliver sets the number at fifty-seven, and with Church's eighteen the aggregate is seventy-five.

In the neighborhood was an Indian known as Stonelayer John. Formerly familiar with the English, he was then unfriendly. The parley the English had with him on December 15 was of doubtful value; for no sooner had he been suffered to leave the English camp than some skulking savages in ambush began a fire on the former. They were driven off, but on their way to Canonicus' Fort they succeeded in carrying the Bull garrison at Pettisquamscot, which they burned,¹ killing the garrison force of fifteen, only two of the English escaping. This was what Captain Prentice discovered the following morning, as he kept the Pettisquamscot trail.² This

¹ Bodge, *Narragansett Fight*.

Pettisquamscot (Tower Hill, South Kingston, R. I.).

² Bull's garrison is said to have been a "very strong stone

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was the first reverse suffered by the English on this expedition, and it was something of a discouragement to them, as well as an assurance that their foe was not to be held in too light consideration.

On December 17 the Connecticut contingent had reached Pettisquamscot, and Bodge remarks that it was on this day that of the captured savages forty-seven were sold to Captain Davenport.¹ Apparently, for the Indian, it was either death or slavery at the hands of the English. There were in the Connecticut troops three hundred English and one hundred Mohegans.

Pitching camp in an open field, they were smothered in a storm of snow. The night was one of bitter cold. The next morning, before daybreak, the army was astir, and had taken up the march for the fort in the swamp.

Church says: "The next move was to a Swamp² which the Indians had Fortified with a Fort."³

house, easily defended by a small number." Bodge is of the opinion that its destruction was accomplished either by surprise or treachery.

Bodge, *Narragansett Fight*, p. 7.

¹*Vide Life of Church*, by Dexter, pp. 13, 113, note.

²This swamp is situated in the northwest part of South Kingston, R. I., very near the Richmond line. It is about seven miles almost due west from Narragansett South Ferry.

³"In the midst of a Swamp was a Piece of firm Land, of three or four Acres, whereon the Indians had built a Kind of Fort, being palisaded round, and within that a clay Wall, as

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The story, outside of Church, relative to the so-called "Fight at Narragansett Fort" is meager, but Church has been the main authority, although it is evident from his own relation that his part in this first considerable engagement with Philip was somewhat belated, and of no particular importance.¹ He was wounded, but it was after the "foot-soldiers" had the savages on "the run." Hubbard trims his *Narrative* to Church's account largely; and while no one would detract from the share of this brave man in the onslaught, yet the fort was nearly carried, if not altogether, when with some thirty soldiers he broke through the veil of smoke that choked this frost-bound swamp, to discover a savage ambush and to disconcert a party of savage skulkers stealthily returning to the attack. It was at this juncture he got a serious wound, when his party had brought the savages to bay.

Perhaps the most satisfactory relation is that contained in the second letter of Joseph Dudley. It is to be taken, perhaps, as the most consistent account of the fight. It has the virtue of being impersonal

also felled down abundance of Trees, to lay quite round the said Fort, but they had not quite finished the said Work."

Drake, *Old Indian Chronicles*.

¹Barry says, "Church was every where, skirmishing with the savages."

History of Massachusetts, vol. ii., p. 427.

The fact does not appear from Church's own narrative.

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so far as Dudley's own exploits are concerned, which is a rare recommendation.¹

The story, as told by a non-observer, is perhaps best afforded by Barry. He sets out with the Wins-

¹"Mr. Smith's, 21, 12, 1675. (Dec. 21, 1675.)

"May it please your honour,

"The coming in of Connecticut force to Petaquamscot, and surprisal of six and slaughter of 5 on Friday night, Saturday we marched towards Petaquamscot, though in the snow, and in conjunction about midnight or later, we advanced; Capt. Mosely led the van, after him Massachusetts, and Plimouth and Connecticut in the rear; a tedious march in the snow, without intermission, brought us about two of the clock afternoon, to the entrance of the swamp, by the help of Indian Peter, who dealt faithfully with us; our men, with great courage, entered the swamp about 20 rods; within the cedar swamp we found some hundreds of wigwams, fortified in with a breastwork and flanked, and many small blockhouses up and down, round about; they entertained us with a fierce fight, and many thousand shot, for about an hour, when our men valiantly scaled the fort, beat them thence, and from the blockhouses. In which action we lost Capt. Johnson, Capt. Danforth, and Capt. Gardiner, and their lieutenants disabled, Capt. Marshall also slain; Capt. Seely, Capt. Mason, disabled, and many other of our officers, insomuch that, by a fresh assault and recruit of powder from their store, the Indians fell on again, recarried and beat us out of, the fort, but by the great resolution and courage of the General and Major, we reinforced, and very hardly entered the fort again, and fired the wigwams, with many living and dead persons in them, great piles of meat and heaps of corn, the ground not admitting burial of their store, were consumed; the number of their dead, we generally suppose the

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low forces as they march away from Pettisquamscot: "The ground was covered with snow, in which, at every step, the soldiers sunk to their ankles; and they were literally compelled to 'wade' through the

enemy lost at least two hundred men; Capt. Mosely counted in one corner of the fort sixty-four men; Capt. Goram reckoned 150 at least; But, O! Sir, mine heart bleeds to give your honour an account of our lost men, but especially our resolute Captains, as by account inclosed, and yet not so many, but we admire there remained any to return, a captive woman, well known to Mr. Smith, informing that there were three thousand five hundred men engaging us and about a mile distant a thousand in reserve, to whom if God had so pleased, we had been but a morsel, after so much disablement; she informeth, that one of their sagamores was slain and their powder spent, causing their retreat, and that they are in a distressed condition for food and houses, that one Joshua Tift, an Englishman, is their encourager and conductor. Philip was seen by one, credibly informing us, under a strong guard.

"After our wounds were dressed, we drew up for a march, not able to abide the field in the storm, and weary, about two of the clock, obtained our quarters, with our dead and wounded, only the General, Ministers, and some other persons of the guard, going (to head) a small swamp, lost our way, and returned again to the evening's quarters, a wonder we were not a prey to them, and, after at least thirty miles marching up and down, in the morning recovered our quarters, and had it not been for the arrival of Goodale next morning, the whole camp had perished; The whole army, especially Connecticut, is much disabled and unwilling to march, with tedious storms, and no lodgings, and frozen and swollen limbs, Major Treat importunate to return at least to

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country of the 'Sunk Squaw of Narragansett,' before reaching their destination; but, notwithstanding these obstacles, about one o'clock they 'came upon the edge of the swamp, where their guide

Stonington; Our dead and wounded are about two hundred, disabled as many; the want of officers, the consideration whereof the General commends to your honor, forbids any action at present, and we fear whether Connecticut will comply, at last, to any action. We are endeavoring, by good keeping and billeting our men at several quarters, and, if possible removal of our wounded to Rhode Island, to recover the spirit of our soldiers, and shall be diligent to find and understand the removals on other action of the enemy, if God please to give us advantage against them.

"As we compleat the account of our dead, now in doing the Council is of the mind, without recruit of men we shall not be able to engage the main body.

"I give your honour
hearty thanks for your
kind lines, of which I am
not worthy

I am Sir, your honour's
humble servant,
JOSEPH DUDLEY."

While the accounts of this fight vary as to the number of casualties, Drake accepts the letter of James Oliver, captain of one of the Plymouth companies. One finds it in Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, vol. i., p. 300.

Drake, *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., p. 30, note.

Dexter, *Life of Church*, pp. 17, 139, note.

Tift was afterward captured and hanged.

Hubbard, *Narrative*, pp. 54, 59.

Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts* (1795), vol. i., p. 273, note.

Connecticut Colony Records, vol. ii., p. 398.

Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vi., p. 309.

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assured them they should find Indians enough before night.' Before the columns deployed, the firing commenced; and the Indians upon the edge of the swamp retreating to their fort which was built upon a small island, covering five or six acres of ground, strengthened with palisades, and compassed with a hedge nearly a rod thick, thither the troops resolutely followed them, eager for action.

"There were two entrances to this fort, one 'over a long tree upon a place of water,' and the other 'at a corner,' over a huge tree, which rested upon its branches just as it had fallen, so that the trunk was raised five or six feet from the ground. The opening to which this led was commanded in front by a log house, and on the left by a flanker. It was the only part of the enclosure accessible, and as the log could be surmounted without much difficulty, the attempt to force an entrance was made by a part of the Massachusetts troops, led by Captain Johnson. This officer, unfortunately was killed at the first fire from the enemy; Captain Davenport, who followed him, met a similar fate; and a large number of soldiers being wounded or slain by the galling shot of the enemy, the rest retreated from the enclosure, and throwing themselves upon their faces, the bullets passed over them like a shower of hail.

"At length the engagement became general. Church was every where,¹ skirmishing with the sav-

¹Bodge says: Church's "part in this battle was simply that

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ages. The commanders rallied their forces, and led them in person, braving the fiercest of the battle with undaunted courage. The Indians on guard were assaulted in front and rear, and driven from the flanker and block-house into the interior of the fort. The soldiers without, immediately took possession of these places; and others, rushing to their aid, the enemy were driven from one building to another, until the middle of the fort was reached, where the combatants fought with desperate energy. The action was bloody and long; but the Indians were routed, and fled into the wilderness. Their wigwams, at least five hundred in number, were immediately fired; and their corn, stores, and utensils, with many of their men, women and children perished in the flames. Three hundred warriors are supposed to have been slain; a large number wounded; and three hundred male prisoners, and as many women and children, were taken. The whole number of Indians in the fort is estimated at four thousand; more than one third of these perished, or were captured. It was the greatest defeat the natives ever sustained.¹

when the fort was carried and the fighting nearly over, he [Church] went with some thirty others, into and through the fort and out into the Swamp upon the trail of the retreating foe."

Bodge, *Narragansett Fort Fight*, p. 12.

¹Canonchet, the Narragansett sachem whose father had been done to death in the Mohegan woods, who was in com-

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“The English lost six captains; and of the Massachusetts troops, upwards of a hundred were wounded or killed; of the Connecticut forces, over seventy; and of those from Plymouth about twenty.

mand of the fort, had sought out this place when he constructed what he thought was an impregnable fortress. He had gathered up his stores, his harvests, and his accumulated wealth and brought them to this Rhode Island swamp. He knew the Mohegans and the remnants of the Pequots were only waiting for the English to nod acquiescence, when they would be at his throat. It was the price he and his people would be called upon to pay for having lent the English their aid at Fort Mystic and Fairfield Swamp, where the Pequots as a nation got their death-blow. It was the English way. The betrayal and murder of Miantunnumoh by the English and the Mohegans was the initial episode. Uncas was a pliant tool, and he was to witness the downfall of the old sachem. In a fair fight Uncas would have been defeated, but with the English as an ally the fate of the Narragansetts was sealed. After the murder of Miantunnumoh the hatred of the Narragansetts for the Mohegans had become a consuming fire; but the English stood between him and a righteous retribution. So he built him a fort, as much for self-preservation as because some of his young men had enlisted under Philip. He had offered asylum to the aged and infirm, the women and the children of the Wampanoags, which to the English was a grievous offence. The English were on their way to destroy him, hoping, as well, to capture his possible guest, King Philip. Possibly he had hoped to spend his days here in safety. It was a vain anticipation. A thousand English soldiers, with one hundred fifty savage Mohegans and Pequots, had fallen upon his fastness in the swamp, with a renegade Indian to show them the way. The brave Canonchet, de-

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It was observed as a remarkable providence, in directing the troops 'to begin the assault just at the day they did, for if they had deferred but a day longer, there fell such a storm of snow the next day that they could not have forced through it for divers after; and then on a sudden there fell such a thaw that melted away both ice and snow; so that if they had deferred till that time, they could have found no passage into their fortified place.'"¹

After the army had returned to the Wickford garrison the Connecticut troops were allowed to

prived of his last refuge, was driven out into the winter cold. Without provisions, without a home or shelter, this son of Miantunnumoh, the fires of his courage flamed brighter than ever. He refused to give up the contest, or even "the paring of a Wampanoag's nail." His only refuge was in immediate flight, with such of his warriors as he could gather. He plunged into the deeper wilderness, broken in power and resources. He established himself on the Connecticut River, where was formed the rallying-point for the western Indians.

Hubbard, *Narrative*, p. 58.

London Tract of December 13.

¹ *Connecticut Colony Records*, vol. ii., p. 402.

Military Papers, vol. ii., pp. 103, 104.

Barry, *History of Massachusetts*, vol. ii., p. 428.

Hubbard, pp. 50-56.

Mather, *Magnalia*, bk. vii., chap. vi.

Life of Church, pp. 26-30.

New England Genealogical Register, vol. vii., p. 343.

Baylie, vol. iii.

Trumbull, vol. i., pp. 338-341.

Hutchinson, vol. i., pp. 272-274.

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return home; but the Massachusetts and Plymouth contingents remained at Wickford until January 27, 1676, when they seem to have taken up their march for the Nipmuck country,¹ whither the savages, numbering some sixteen hundred, had apparently made their way.²

Church went along, "tho he then had Tents in his Wounds, and so Lamè as not to be able to Mount his Horse without two Men's assistance." It was in March they came to an Indian town where there were many wigwams. A thinly frozen swamp, which was a natural moat, lay between the town and the English, so they could not readily come at it. After an exchange of shots, the Indians got away.

The English kept their march through the country, killing the savages as they had opportunity, going through Brookfield and Marlborough woods in the road toward Connecticut, when, running short of stores, they turned toward Boston, where

¹ Hubbard, *Narrative*, pp. 58, 60.

Arnold, *History of Rhode Island*, vol. i., p. 406.

Drake's *Church*, p. 65.

² Hubbard, p. 60.

Ibid, p. 58.

Mather, p. 22.

Massachusetts Records, vol. v.

Trumbull, vol. i., p. 341.

Plymouth Records of December 27, 1675.

Military Papers, vol. ii., pp. 106, 107, 111, 112.

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they arrived early in February.¹ Mather says, "So then February 5 the Army returned to Boston not having obtained the end of their going forth."

The troops out of the way, the Indians began anew their savageries. On February 10 this year, five days after the troops were safely housed at Boston, the town of Lancaster, or Nashaway, containing some fifty families, was attacked by five hundred Indians, who succeeded in destroying but one garrison-house. In this were some forty persons, including some eight or nine soldiers. One of these escaped. The remainder, being mostly women and children, were captured, all of whom, after a few months of captivity, were set free.² In this same month Medfield³ and Weymouth⁴ had

¹*Military Papers*, vol. ii., p. 131.

Hubbard, pp. 55, 60.

Mather, p. 22.

February 7, 1676, by an order of the Plymouth authorities, the forces of that colony were billeted at Marlborough.

Military Papers, vol. ii., p. 131.

²Mrs. Rowlandson's *Narrative*.

Hubbard, pp. 60, 61, 82.

Mather, pp. 28, 37.

Barry (*History of Massachusetts*, vol. ii., p. 433) has the story of this raid somewhat at length.

³*London Tract* of October 13, p. 3.

Mather, p. 23.

Military Papers, vol. ii., p. 139.

⁴Hubbard, p. 66.

Mather, p. 23.

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been raided by the Indians. Marlborough was attacked about this time. While at Medfield two hundred savages had butchered seventeen of the inhabitants, destroying a large portion of the settlement, Marlborough had fared better, her people getting into the garrison-houses; but all the deserted houses in this latter village were burned. This happened March 26, 1676.

Philip had made his way to Schaghticoke,¹ a place in the Mohawk country, and while there he was attacked by that people² and driven eastward. His next halting-place was the Falls of the Connecticut, where Captain Turner came upon him suddenly in the darkness of the night. Killing some of Philip's men, numerous others were driven into the river in their fear, not knowing the number of the English, where they were drowned. In some manner Philip got across the river, and under the further shadows of Wachusett Mountain he again got together his Nipmuck and Narragansett allies, after which they set out for Sudbury, upon which place they made an attack April 21, 1676. Before this Groton had been surprised, as had Pawtuxet (in March). At Sudbury, Philip appeared with a force of nine hundred warriors, yet they were able to kill but three of its inhabitants. The

¹ A place on the Hoosick and Hudson Rivers, twelve miles from Troy.

² *Life of Church*, p. 146.

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Eames family lived some three miles from this place, and Eames, being from home, escaped. His family, however, were carried into captivity after the savages had burned his buildings and killed his cattle.¹

Northwest of Sudbury was the Concord settlement. The Indians swooped down on this place, but were able to do little damage other than to the outlying farms, at one of which they found two men threshing at a barn while a young girl was set to watch for the approach of the Indians; for these settlers took long chances. Despite the vigilance of the girl, who may have got to dozing in the warm spring sunshine, the two men were shot; but as Hubbard relates the incident, "the Maid strangely escaped soon after."

Chelmsford had been practically deserted by its settlers, and in the early part of April of this year a heavy cloud of smoke hung over the town. The savages had put the place to the torch. Here, however, they got a taste of English blood; for as Samuel

¹The Indians engaged in the raid on Sudbury are said to have been fifteen hundred in number. There is some discrepancy in the date of this savage episode. The *Middlesex Records* give it as April 21. Contemporary writers, Gookin, Sewall, and Winslow, concur.

Barry, *History of Massachusetts*, vol. ii., p. 438, note.

Mather, p. 27.

Massachusetts Records, vol. v.

Shattuck's *Concord*, p. 59.

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Varnham's two sons were passing along stream the Indians discovered them and shot them at their oars. This same month a descent was made upon Andover, which lay fifteen miles from Ipswich. Two were killed here, and one taken captive. Almost simultaneously and unexpectedly the savages appeared at Hingham and Weymouth, where one or two of the English were killed; and a few days later, April 19, they appeared in the neighborhood of Haverhill and Bradford, where two or three of the settlers were surprised and killed. They came into Woburn, and as near Boston as Cambridge, where they robbed some gardens of the linen which had been spread on the grass to bleach in the sun. Here they went into a house and slew two children and a woman, "but being pursued," as Hubbard says, "and shot at as they sat by a Swamp side, they dropped their Bundle of Linnen, in which was found wrapt up the Scalp of one or both the Children."¹

While these barbarities of 1675-76 were taking place, in the Maine province and among the isolated towns of the Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies, the Indians, from time to time, had committed numerous outrages in New Hampshire. The New Hampshire Indians had kept themselves free of any embroglio with Philip. Passaconaway, like Massasoit, had always been friendly with the Eng-

¹Hubbard, *Narrative*.

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lish, as was the inclination of Wonnalancet. Concerning this period, Belknap is interesting reading; and he notes, in beginning his relation of the incursions of the savages upon the New Hampshire settlers: "The quarrel being thus begun, and their [the Indians'] natural hatred of the English, and jealousy of their designs, having risen to a great height under the malignant influence of Squando and other leading men; and being encouraged by the example of the western Indians, who were daily making depredations on the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts; they took every opportunity to rob and murder the people in the scattered settlements of Maine; and having dispersed themselves into many small parties, that they might be the more extensively mischievous, in the month of September (1675) they approached the plantations at Pascataqua, and made their first onset at Oyster River, then a part of the town of Dover, but now Durham."¹

At Durham two houses were burned; two men were killed in a canoe; two captives were carried off, but these made their escape soon after. In Exeter the savages laid an ambush on the road to Hampton, where they killed a man, capturing another, who made his escape.² A few days later they surrounded Tozer's cabin at Newichawannock.

¹ Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, pp. 17, 72.

² *Ibid*, p. 72

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Under this roof were fifteen women and children. These were saved by the intrepidity of a girl, who, discovering the approach of the savages toward the house, barred the door with her slender body, sending the others out a rear door, enabling her companions to reach a near-by house which was capable of a better defence. Once they had escaped, the Indians got into the cabin, and, knocking the girl on the head, hastened after those who had left her behind to bear the brunt of the Indians' disappointment. Two children who could not get over the fence were captured. The others got off in safety, while the heroine fully recovered of her wound.¹

This same party hovered about the neighborhood for two or three days. They burned two houses, and three barns in which was a considerable quantity of grain; but eight settlers, getting together, chased the savages into the woods. The savages went in the direction of Oyster River, where they burned several houses, and two men were killed by them.

Anxious to make reprisal for these inroads upon their lives and property, some twenty Dover men went to Major Waldron, a commander of militia, and, getting permission to hunt the savages after their own fashion, scattered themselves about the woods. By some of these men five Indians were discovered gathering corn in a field near a deserted cabin. Some of the Indians were kindling a fire for

¹Hubbard, *Wars with Eastern Indians*, pp. 19, 21.

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a corn-roast. So widely apart were the English that those who made the discovery could not signal their fellows; so, making the best of the situation, they crawled through the grass until they had gotten sufficiently near the house. Rising to their feet, they made a rush upon the two savages who were busy about their fire, knocked them upon the head with their muskets, with the loss of the three others, who, taking the alarm, were lost in the woods a moment later. This diversion not only encouraged the settlers, but made the savages more wary. //

Throughout this section of the country matters of business were suspended. Fear and confusion prevailed everywhere, and as the settlers came in from the isolated districts they gathered in the stronger houses, which were at once fortified with timbered walls and flankers, with, in some cases, a sentry-box on the roof. New Hampshire became a country of garrison-houses.

October 7 of this year (1675) was appointed a day of general fasting and prayer, which gave to the people a greater courage to bear their anxieties; but on the sixteenth of this month the savages fell upon Salmon Falls. Lieutenant Plaisted sent out a party of reconnaissance, which was ambushed, with a loss of three men. An express was sent at once to Major Waldron and Lieutenant Coffin, at Cocheco, importuning help. The following day Plaisted, with twenty men, went out to cart the bodies of the men slain the preceding day, only

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to be again ambushed. The frightened team ran away, as well as those who went along with him. Plaisted and his son were left to get out of their dilemma as best they could; but they were unable to cope with so many of the Indians, and so paid the penalty of their indiscretion with their lives. After this the savages took refuge in the thick woods, and it was left for Captain Frost and a party from Sturgeon Creek to bury the unfortunates. This same month a mill was burned at Sturgeon Creek and the Frost garrison was attacked. Frost had three boys with him, but between them all a constant fire was kept up on the savages while Frost was calling orders to his men, as if he had a large force with him. His stratagem was successful, and the savages followed down the river, plundering, burning, and killing as they found opportunity.

The savages kept on to Portsmouth, but, dismayed by the discharge of the cannon, they withdrew. A light snow had fallen over night, and, being pursued by a sortie of English, the savages were overtaken in the edge of a swamp, into which they clambered, leaving their plunder to their pursuers. After this they turned up at Dover, Lamphrey River, and Exeter; but with the chill days of November they had withdrawn to their forest fastnesses, and their depredations for this season, at least, seem to have come to an end. In this year, from the Kennebec to the Piscataqua, Belknap esti-

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mates that fifty of the English were killed by the savages.¹

While the soldiers of the confederated colonies were hounding Philip in the opening days of this winter, Waldron was effecting a peace with the Indians to the eastward. The plan of the New Hampshire government was to carry the war into the Indian settlements in a winter campaign; but the snows came early and deep, so that by the tenth of December there were four feet of snow on the ground, and the expedition against Ossipee and Pequawket² had to be abandoned. The English were but poorly supplied with "rackets" (snow-shoes); thus the carrying out of this design was rendered impossible, though the circumstances were most favorable.

Pinched with hunger (for the savages were poor providers), and having lost some ninety of their warriors by the unerring hand of the English, a truce was entered into with the eastern Indians, which was to hold until the following August.

¹Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 74.

Church's *Memoirs*, p. 44.

Hubbard, *Eastern Wars*, pp. 23-25.

²The Ossipees had their habitat in the wilds about Ossipee Lake, in New Hampshire, while the Pequawkets were located on the Saco River, about the Conway meadows, near the Maine border. For these latter the Saco River made a natural highway, while the Ossipees could reach the same stream by canoe, Ossipee Lake being a tributary of the Saco.

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Belknap says it "might have continued longer if the inhabitants of the eastern parts had not been too intent in private gain, and of a disposition too ungovernable to be a barrier against an enemy so irritable and vindictive." Following this agreement for a temporary amity, the captives taken through the open season of 1675 were returned. Belknap remarks, "A return from the dead could not be more welcome than a deliverance from Indian captivity."

Possibly New Hampshire and Maine would have escaped the depredations of 1676 had it not been for the action of Massachusetts in following up the western Indians, who, after the death of Philip, had taken refuge, many of them, among the Pennacooks, who had been entirely quiescent throughout this struggle. Of these, varying as they did in manner of habiting from those among whom they had found an asylum, several were taken at one time and another, and they were publicly executed. Three of these, Simon, Peter, and Andrew, who had been concerned in the Bradford raid, were captured and committed to the jail until their case could be judicially disposed of. They had made captives of the family of Thomas Kimball, after killing Kimball; but they had restored to freedom his widow and her five children, and this they pleaded in extenuation of their offence. Doubting the efficacy of their atonement, these savages broke jail and got away to the Indians on the Ken-

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nebec and Androscoggin, with whom they joined in the depredations of the following summer. This Simon, or Symon, of all the savage renegades was the worst. Meanwhile Fate was weaving the web from which he would be unable to escape.¹

Returning to the fight at Narragansett Fort: to Philip it had been a severe lesson. His enmity was after that beyond recall; for to him its conse-

¹A renegade praying Indian who made much trouble for the English along the Merrimac River.

Drake, *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., p. 105.

Hubbard, *History of New England*, p. 631.

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 75.

"One of the most famous of the native adherents of the English was a Pequot, partly of Narragansett blood, called Major Symon. This man's physical strength and recklessness of danger were said to be truly astonishing. Fighting seemed to be his recreation. During the war he was seldom at home more than four or five days together, being engaged the rest of the time in warlike expeditions. It was reported that he had with his own hand killed or taken above three score of the enemy. Once he came alone upon a band of Indians as they lay at ease under a steep bank. He leaped down among them, killed some, put the rest to flight, and carried away prisoners. On another of his expeditions he fell asleep, and while sleeping, dreamed that Indians were coming upon him. He awoke with the dream, and getting up, discovered some of the hostile warriors approaching his resting-place. He presented his gun and they stopped; he then turned and made his escape, although he was very weary and his pursuers were numerous. Towards the close of the war he was traveling with two other Indians and Thomas

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quences were destructive of all hopes that he might have entertained as to the support of new allies. He was now certain that on the part of the English it was to be a war of extermination. There was no mercy in the English hand; only death, or slavery — undoubtedly death for him as the arch-conspirator. While, with the Indian, war was a hereditary pursuit, the odds were against the savage. He

Stanton, to Seaconet. On their march they learned that some of the enemy were near by, upon which the three Indians left Stanton and went in search of them. They found the camp, but the warriors of the company were gone, and had left behind them only a few old men, women and children. These surrendered to Major Symon and his companions, who led them away at a rapid pace. One old man was unable to keep up with the party, and was allowed to lag behind on his promising that he would follow. In the meantime the warriors had returned to camp; and having taken up the trail, soon overtook the old man, and learned from him what had happened. They speedily came up with the three adventurous warriors, killed one of them and liberated the captives. Major Symon and his remaining companion stood at bay, and the former offered to fight any five of the assailants if they would lay aside their guns and use only their hatchets. They feared his strength and dexterity too much to accept the challenge, and advanced on him in a body. He fired upon them, and, rushing furiously forward, broke through their line and escaped, followed by his companion. After hostilities were over in Massachusetts, this Pequot Achilles joined an expedition against the Indians of Maine and New Hampshire."

DeForest, *History of the Indians of Connecticut*, pp. 285, 286.

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had the advantage of having lived as a neighbor of the white man, and he knew his ways, the location of his dwelling, and its approaches; his habits of resort. He knew, too, every woodland path, or trail, and its hidden recesses, where he would be secure from the prying eyes of the English. From the woodland shadows he could observe the movements of his victim unconscious of immediate danger. All this was as easy for the savage as it was difficult for the settler to be always on his guard against his invidious enemy. About every settlement were the skirting shadows of the woodlands, and once within their mystery an unbroken wilderness was but a step away. These circumstances made it especially facile for the savage, either as an individual or as one of a party, to hover undiscovered upon the edge of the settler's domain, where, like so many wild animals waiting to leap out upon their prey, adepts with the musket, and silent as the death they were ever ready to mete out to the white man, who to them was their deadliest foe, they wrought in blood and smoke.

By day, or by night, no white man was safe. As the white man ploughed, or reaped, the fences along his fields were the crouching-places of his inveterate enemy. The thickets by the roadside were likely at any moment to breathe forth a wisp of musket-smoke when the fatal bullet would speed to his heart. The savage lurked in his barns and out-houses, and his terror kept pace with the days as

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they grew. His women and children were not safe for a moment once they had crossed the threshold into the outer air. His movements were timed by his necessities, while those of the savage were limited only by his animus of destruction. The savage was omnipresent; and whether the settler was asleep or awake, at work or journeying, at home or at church, like the sword of Damocles his constant jeopardy colored his every thought, and he was momentarily listening for the warning sounds by which the savage was wont to make known his proximity.

The advantage, however, was not altogether upon the side of the Indians. The English being abundantly supplied with weapons, having facilities for the manufacture or procurement of ammunition, and possessed of towns and garrisons to which they could retreat for shelter upon emergency, united under a common bond, acting under a common plan, inspired by a recuperative tenacity, the aborigine was bound to fail in this contest.

While the expedition against the Narragansetts was regarded as successful, it had not been accomplished without much hardship and suffering on the part of the English, who, wearied with the prolonged fight, short of supplies, carrying their wounded over rough forest trails for miles,—many of the latter dying by the way,—reached Wickford garrison thoroughly exhausted and worn by hunger.

When General Winslow took stock of his forces

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at this garrison he found, besides the wounded, four hundred soldiers unfit for duty. As has been noted, the Connecticut soldiers were sent home. It was here, in the midst of their deprivations, that a single vessel came in, laden with food — apparently the only thing between them and starvation, from the fact that hardly had they accomplished their return march than they were blocked by a storm of snow which it is recorded covered the ground to the depth of four feet.¹

In the destruction of Narragansett Fort it is probable that the English were unaware of the immense stores of corn contained in the wigwams to which they set fire. Had it been otherwise, they would have found abundant supplies for their immediate wants. The condition of the savages was even worse than that of the English, and their only recourse was to continue their flight toward the habitats of the more distant tribes.

While the Indians were dispersed, the English found themselves compelled to take a rest. The

¹ Church mentions the arrival of a vessel at Smith's the night of the fight at Narragansett Fort, bringing a cargo of stores. The vessels upon which they were depending for their supplies were held up by the ice at Cape Cod.

Life of Church, p. 29.

London Tract of October 23, p. 2.

MS. Letter, Richard Smith to Governor Winslow, of December 25.

Winslow's *MSS.*

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savages, crippled in their resources, were in no condition to prosecute an aggressive warfare; but this interregnum of inactivity on their part was in a way compulsory. After the blockading snowfall the rains came, and the swamps and the forests were filled with water from the overflowing streams.

The Commissioners of the United Colonies, once the army had recovered somewhat from its disabled condition, ordered a vigorous prosecution of the campaign.¹ Mounted troops scoured the country adjacent to the Narragansett waters. Many of the stores which the Indians had cached in the ground were discovered and brought in to swell the supplies of the combined forces. They also captured a considerable number of savages who were roaming about the country in search of these deposits of food. They swept through "Pumham's"

¹*Military Papers, Massachusetts Archives*, vol. ii., p. 105.

²Pumham was "a mighty man of valor." He is well known in history as the sachem of Shawomet. He was the friend of the Rev. Samuel Gorton in 1645, who had made himself obnoxious to the Puritans; and it was the lands of Miantonomoh held by Gorton, in what is now Warwick, that, through Ousamaquin (Massasoit), were wrested from Gorton on the charge that Miantonomoh was a usurper and had no right to convey. Drake says Pumham was not the leader in the fight at the Falls of the Connecticut, May 19, 1676, though he was there. Drake charges the English with cowardice, "having every advantage of their enemy." So long as the savages cowered in fear, or fled, the English were very brave; but once the savages got their "second wind" and put up a

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country," which they found deserted, their only accomplishment being the destruction of a hundred or more wigwams. Efforts were made to establish a peace with the Narragansetts, to which Ninigret indicated a willing mind. Canonchet defied the English, dismissing the messengers with the assurance: "We will fight to the last man, rather than become servants to the English."¹ Canonchet's reply was the opposite of ambiguous.

The troops, ordered to be recruited, had been raised, and in the latter half of January, 1676, had been despatched through the snow-laden woods to

defence in their desperation, the English "fled in the greatest confusion, although they had 'about an hundred and four-score men.'" There was no question of the valor of the savages in recovering from a night surprise.

Mather's *Brief History*.

Drake's *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., p. 72.

Hubbard, p. 28.

Pumham was captured by the English in Dedham woods, July 25, 1676, by Captain Hunting. Pumham's son was among the captives. The son was taken to Boston and executed as the son of his father.

MS. Narrative of Rev. T. Cabot.

Hubbard.

Mather's *Brief History*, p. 8.

¹Hubbard, p. 58.

London Tract of October 13.

Canonchet was known as Naununtenuo. He had very good cause to hate the English, being the son of Miantonomoh.

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make a junction with Winslow's forces.¹ It was about this time that frequent reports came in that the savages were making their way into the Nipmuck country. It was evident that they were on the move, because they began to renew their depredations. The Connecticut forces had mostly returned to Winslow, who at once organized his troops into an active advance into that part of the country where the Indians were killing and burning, apparently without interruption. The Indians eluded Winslow, who captured a few savages, but was unable to come to a general engagement with the main body. His advance took him to Marlborough, from whence he kept on to Boston.²

This left the field clear for the scattered savages — the Narragansetts, Quaboags, Nipmucks, the Indians along the Connecticut River, with the rem-

¹*Military Papers*, vol. ii., pp. 106, 107.

Hubbard, *Narrative*, p. 58.

Massachusetts Records, vol. v.

Plymouth Records of December 27, 1675.

January 6, 1676, the commissioners for the colonies issued a call for one thousand troops for General Winslow, which were to be mustered in at headquarters before January 20.

Military Papers, vol. ii., pp. 111, 112.

²*Military Papers*, vol. ii., p. 131.

Hubbard, *Narrative*, pp. 55, 60.

Mather, p. 22.

February 7 of this year, by order, the Plymouth forces were billeted at Marlborough. For lack of provisions they were obliged to abandon the chase on the savages.

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nant left to Philip of his own people — to gather themselves into a compact and formidable body.¹ It was from Wachusett Mountain they had started out early in February, 1676, for the English settlements. Referring to the attack upon Lancaster, or Nashaway: upon the news reaching the English, Captain Wadsworth was sent to its relief, who inflicted some punishment upon the savages and drove them from the vicinity. Such had been the destructive character of this incursion that the place was abandoned.²

¹The praying Indians were used by the English as spies. Some of those sent out at this time came in with reports that "a man from Canada had been amongst them [the Indians], animating them against the English, and promising them a supply of ammunition."

Hubbard, *Narrative*, p. 76.

Military Papers, vol. ii., p. 105.

This fact is alluded to nowhere else, and is to be doubted other than as a rumor. The French do not appear to have interested themselves in such direction until King William's War. The Indians among whom the Jesuits were carrying on their proselytism do not appear to have mingled in any of the forays to the eastward incident to the war of King Philip.

²This assault on Lancaster was especially irritating to the English. The savages were not only most successful in their firing of the town, but they took away with them many captive women and children. Mrs. Rowlandson's narrative is quoted: "Early in the morning the assault was commenced in five different places. Most of the fortified houses were burned, and several persons were killed; but the only garrison

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A few days later, before the taking of Lancaster, the Commissioners of the United Colonies met at Boston, where they decided upon an immediate prosecution of the war. A levy of six hundred additional soldiers was ordered, who were to rendezvous at Quaboag, or some other convenient place. It was suggested to Connecticut that that colony secure the assistance of the Pequods and Mohegans. At this time, while General Winslow retired from the active command of the army as commander-in-chief, he still retained his connection with it, while it was voted that the commander-in-chief of the colony which in the war happened to become active should be the head of the army for

destroyed was that at and around the house of Mr. Rowlandson, the minister, in which forty-two of the soldiers and inhabitants had taken refuge. This was set on fire; and the flames spread with such rapidity, that the only alternative left to the inmates was to surrender or die. The few who attempted to escape were instantly shot, and the survivors reluctantly consented to yield. Most of the men were slain without mercy; but the women and children, above twenty in number, were carried into captivity." Among these was the wife of Mr. Rowlandson, with three of her children, one of whom died of its wounds in the wilderness. The sufferings of Mrs. Rowlandson were exceedingly severe, and her narrative is one of thrilling interest. She was redeemed in a few months, and restored to her home. Her children, a month later, were also returned.

Barry, vol. ii., p. 433.

Hubbard, pp. 60, 61, 82.

Mather, pp. 28, 37.

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that time.¹ When the volunteers had come in from New London, Stonington and Norwich, Avery and Stanton, the Mohegans and Pequods, and such of the friendly Narragansetts as had joined the savage allies from Connecticut, in the last days of February they made their way into the Narragansett country, where they prosecuted their campaign until the hostile savages had been driven from that section. As the English went to one place the Indians appeared in another; and their ravages continued until upon Groton alone three successive attacks had been made in March, so that the town was deserted and its garrison and stores removed.²

¹ Baylie's *History of Plymouth*, vol. iii., p. 108.

² Hubbard, pp. 72-76.

Mather, p. 23.

London Tract of October 13, p. 4.

On March 2, 1676, the Indians made their first attack on Groton, where at that time were five garrison-houses.

Willard's *Sermon, Three Historical Addresses*, p. 92 (edited by Samuel Abbott Green).

In this same month, seven days later, a second attack was made upon Groton. John Nutting's garrison was taken by stratagem, the men having been led to leave the garrison-house by a ruse, after which they were ambushed by the savages. The garrison-house was then attacked in the rear, which enabled the women and children, made up of five families, to escape, by the garrison gate, to Parker's garrison safely.

Green, *Sketch of Groton*, p. 29.

This last attack was made March 13.

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It was necessary that something should be done at once to afford protection to the western frontier; and, in the early days of March, Major Savage was despatched from Boston to make a junction with the Connecticut forces.¹ No sooner had he accomplished this than the savages made an attack upon Northampton, where they met with a repulse and were compelled to make precipitate retreat.² The apprehension increasing as to the safety of the frontier settlements, a line of stockades was proposed, to extend from the Charles River as far as the Merrimac, which was abandoned as unfeasible. Garrisons, however, were established in these border towns, and were supplied with minute-men who were to give the alarm upon the approach of the Indians, while scouting-parties were to range the country.³

¹As to the operations of Major Savage against the savages in the Connecticut Valley, *vide* Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., pp. 134-138.

²Hubbard, p. 77.

Mather, p. 23.

Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. i., pp. 68-70.

Trumbull, vol. i., p. 356.

For an extended description of the attack on Northampton, *vide* Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. ii., p. 131.

³*Military Papers*, vol. ii., p. 174.

Massachusetts Records, vol. v.

History of Concord, pp. 55, 57; *Charlestown*, p. 180; and *Newbury*, p. 118.

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The appearance of the savages was a matter of uncertainty, but it was hardly expected that they would be so bold as to appear in the close proximity of the Plymouth settlement; and, much to its surprise and terror, the savages swooped down upon the place, in which incursion twelve of the English were killed. The Indians had evidently shifted their campaign into the Plymouth Colony. Captain Pierce, of Scituate, took up the pursuit of the savages, and, arriving in the vicinity of Seekonk, with a mixed force of fifty English and twenty Indians, came upon a party of the hostile savages, which they at once captured, without loss to themselves. This was about March 26.

Encouraged by this adventure, he made his arrangements to continue the attack the following morning; when he discovered, within a short distance of the settlement, four or five Indians, who limped along like wounded men. Suspecting nothing, with his company he gave chase to them, to find himself surrounded by a large body of savages. His situation was desperate, nor did any avenue of escape offer itself; and the fight began, which was continued by the English for two hours or more, in which his force was not only utterly defeated, but practically destroyed. The settlers of Rehoboth, hearing the gun-shots, sent out a relief-party; but when they arrived nothing was left for them to

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do but bury the dead, with which the ground was covered.¹

After this success on the part of the savages they crossed the river to Seekonk Common, where, under cover of darkness, they took that settlement, to which they put the torch; and by sunrise the place was in ashes, with the exception of the garrison-house on the plain, and one other at the south end of the Common, which had been saved by a ruse of arranging some blackened posts which in the night-time bore some semblance to sentinels on guard. The one man killed at this place was Robert Beers, who, believing that his Bible was a sufficient talisman to ward off harm, refused to take flight, in his religious enthusiasm, and so was killed by the savages.² Next day the savages made their appearance at Providence, where thirty houses were burned.³

¹*Military Papers*, vol. ii., p. 177.

Hubbard, pp. 64-67.

Mather, p. 25.

London Tract of October 13, 1676, p. 5.

Newman's Letter, in Deane, p. 122.

Bliss, *Rehoboth*, p. 91.

²*London Tract* of October 13, 1676.

Baylie (vol. iii., p. 113) gives the name of *Wright*.

Barry (vol. ii., p. 437) says *Beers*.

Hubbard, *Narrative*, pp. 67, 133.

Mather, p. 26.

Bliss, pp. 95, 96.

³Mather, p. 26.

Staples, *Ann. Prov.*, pp. 162-168.

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These disasters to the settlers caused the Plymouth Colony to hold a council of war, and a quota of men was ordered to be raised and put into the field, to consist of three hundred English and one hundred Indians. This was to be accomplished by the eleventh of March; but the council discovered, at a later meeting, that it was not possible to muster so many men. The men under Captain Pierce had been drawn mostly from Scituate and Sandwich, so these towns were unable to furnish the quota of fifty, which had been demanded. As a last resort, it was left to them to provide such means for their own safety as they found possible.¹

The same day that Captain Pierce was defeated Marlborough was attacked and the greater part of it destroyed by fire, so that it was abandoned by the settlers.² At a place called Longmeadow, in the vicinity of Springfield, eighteen English were attacked on their way to church. Of this party two were killed, some others were wounded, and two women and children were made captives. A rescue party was made up the next day; but the two chil-

¹ Deane, p. 124.

Winsor's *Duxbury*, p. 105.

Military Papers (vol. ii., pp. 196, 197) include letters from Plymouth, of March 31, recommending the establishment of a flying army, and a reply, April 3, in objection, by Massachusetts Council.

² *Military Papers*, vol. ii., pp. 180, 181.

Hubbard, p. 79.

Mather, pp. 24, 25, 27.

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dren were brained at their mothers' breasts, the Indians killing one of the women, while the other was just alive when the English came up with her.¹

The Sudbury fight, which took place on the morning of April 21, was commenced by a party of fifteen hundred Indians. In this fight several persons were killed and a number of buildings were destroyed. A party of English from Watertown, who were joined by the Sudbury settlers, engaged the savages on the east bank of the river, but were compelled to fall back. Another party of English, despatched from Concord to their assistance, was ambushed near Haynes's garrison, of which only one escaped to tell the tale, his ten companions being killed. Captain Wadsworth, who lived at Milton, had just come into Marlborough with a company when a runner came in with the news of the attack upon Sudbury. He made an immediate march to that place, taking along with him Captain Brocklebanck, of Rowley. They reached the vicinity of Sudbury in the afternoon, to fall into an ambush; and only a few, who were able to gain the shelter of an adjoining mill, escaped.² The rest

¹ Hubbard, p. 77.

Mather, p. 25.

London Tract of October 13, p. 6.

² April 21, 1676.

Barry, *History of Massachusetts*, vol. ii., p. 438, note.

Military Papers, vol. ii., p. 220.

Shattuck's *Concord*, p. 59.

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were killed. That same morning runners had been sent into Boston with the news of the proximity of the Indians and the destruction of Sudbury and the three parties which had gone to its relief. They got into Charlestown as the afternoon lecture was beginning, at which Major Gookin and Mr. Danforth were in attendance. These two left the meeting-house and took a body of horse, which formed a part of Captain Prentice's troop, commanded by Captain Phipps, and a company of friendly savages under Captain Hunting, sending it off on the march for Sudbury. The savages, being obliged to make the march on foot, did not arrive at Sudbury until after dusk. In the morning Captain Hunting's Indians crossed the river into the woods to reconnoitre, but the only signs of the enemy they discovered were the men of Captain Wadsworth's company, who had fallen victims to the ambush. The following day forty more troops were ordered out of Suffolk, under Cornet Eliot; and a like number from Middlesex, under Major Gookin. These were sent to Sudbury to watch the enemy.¹

While the Indians were thus aggressive, they were practically without means of subsistence; and upon the English getting word that some of the sa-

¹ Mather's *Magnalia*, p. 27.
Massachusetts Records, vol. v.
Shattuck's *Concord*, p. 59.
Hubbard, pp. 81, 82.

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chems were inclined to a suspension of hostilities, it resulted in the return of the prisoners taken in the Lancaster fight.

It was about this time, in the early days of April, that Captain Dennison and his Indian allies, through their savage spies, had succeeded in locating Canonchet, the chief sachem of the Narragansetts. He was overtaken in the vicinity of Seekonk, with some thirty of his leading warriors, where he was surrounded and captured. Early in the spring of 1676 he had undertaken, with thirty of his warriors, to get to Seekonk for some seed-corn for the season's planting. They got through the Pequod country, and were in their ancient domain near the Pawtucket River, where they were beset by the English. Canonchet sent two of his men to an adjoining hill-top to reconnoitre. They at once returned, passing Canonchet, in their terror, without informing him of his peril. He sent another scout, who, overcome with fear, fled as had the two others. He then despatched two more, who told him the whole English army was coming. His only recourse was flight. Running around the base of the hill, he was discovered by the savage allies of the English, and pursued. The swiftest runners of them all were at his heels. He threw his blanket away; then his silver-laced coat and his peag-belt. He plunged into a shallow river, to stumble upon a stone. His gun was useless; but he got across the river, where, in his despair, he fell into the hands of

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the Pequod who had kept so closely at his heels. Canonchet was offered his life if he and his people would submit to the English. He refused; and, being afterward sentenced to death, he was shot, at Stonington, by three young sachems of his own rank.¹

This event may be regarded as the death-blow to the cause of Philip. At this same time Major Palmes, with seventy Englishmen and a hundred more Indians, had swept the country of the Narragansetts, with the exception of that tribe of which

¹ Drake says: "Under the eye of Denison, Nanuntenuo was taken to Stonington, where 'by the advice of the English commanders, he was shot.' His head was cut off and carried to Hartford, and his body consumed by fire. The English prevailed upon some of each tribe of their allies, viz., Pequots, Mohegans, and Nianticks, to be his executioners, 'thereby the more firmly (as Hubbard says) to engage the said Indians against the treacherous Narragansetts.'"

Mather says, "Herein the English dealt wisely, for by this means the three Indian nations are become abominable to the other Indians;" and Mather was a *Puritan minister*.

Drake's *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., p. 45.

Hubbard, *Narrative*, pp. 67, 139-141.

Deane, *Scituate*, p. 124.

Barry, vol. ii., p. 440.

Mather, *Brief History*, p. 27.

London Tract of October 13, p. 9.

Trumbull, vol. i., pp. 343, 344.

Staples (*Ann. Prov.*, p. 168) gives the date of Canonchet's capture as April 4, 1676. Canonchet was the son of Miantunnumoh.

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Ninigret¹ was chief sachem, without the loss of a single man killed or wounded, while they had killed or captured some two hundred of the enemy.

Through these early days of spring Captain Church, with a few men he had been able to gather about himself, began to make forays upon the Indians; and he was no less successful than Major Palmes. While these different enterprises were being carried out, of which the Connecticut forces had had the largest success, the Indians for the second time made their appearance at the Plymouth settlement, where several houses and barns were burned. This was followed up by attacks

¹ Brother-in-law to Miantonomoh. He was chief of the Niantics. He was not personally engaged in Philip's War, but Mather calls him "a crafty old sachem"—possibly because he attended to his own business so well.

Brief History, p. 20.

He lived to be very old, and the time of his death is uncertain. A mention of him in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. ix., p. 83, would seem to indicate his being alive in 1716. He was very haughty and independent, and caused the English at one time and another much apprehension.

Vide Wood's History of Long Island.

Hazard, vol. ii., pp. 152, 433.

Winthrop's *Journal*, vol. ii., pp. 134, 330, 331, 343.

Drake, *Book of the Indians*, pp. 67-83.

Mather, pp. 33, 39.

Hubbard, pp. 68, 142.

Trumbull, vol. i., p. 345.

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upon Halifax and the village of Middleborough.¹ Bridgewater, which was an inland settlement, and perhaps more exposed than any of the others, had escaped the ravages of the Indians until the middle of July of this year, when an attack was made upon this place. While some damage was done, none of its inhabitants were killed, although there were numerous Bridgewater men in the Plymouth forces.²

Scituate had been attacked some time before, and was a place of some importance. The Indians approached from the direction of Hingham, burning the sawmill of Cornet Stetson, which was located on Third Herring Brook; the house of Captain Joseph Sylvester, William Blackmore, and that of a Swede named Nicholas; and some others. Leaving Barstow's garrison unassailed, they made a desperate attack upon the Stockbridge garrison, at the lower end of the town, where so lively a defence was made that, after taking a block-

¹ Hubbard, p. 83.

Mather, p. 29.

Middleborough was a large town, its eastern boundary being some ten miles west of Plymouth village. It was the Indian *Namasket* (*Namas*, "fish;" *Namas-ohke-ut*, "at the fish-place"). It was a noted fishing-place for the Indians.

² Hubbard, pp. 70-72.

I. Mather, p. 29.

Magnalia, bk. vii., chap. vi.

Mitchell.

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house along the riverside, they withdrew as they came.¹

Barry records that Cornet Stetson was one of the most active of the defenders of Hingham on this occasion, despite his age; for while his house and family were in danger, and the buildings of some of his children were destroyed, he fought like a veteran. His family escaped practically unharmed. Twenty-two dwelling-houses and barns were destroyed at this place, while the heads of six families, with several others, were killed, and many more wounded.²

The Massachusetts Colony was still busy inaugurating measures of defence; new relays of troops were being enlisted, both horse and foot, which were sent out under Captains Sill, Cutler, Holbrook, Brattle, Prentice, and Henschman. They scoured the woods in that section of the country now known as Grafton, where they made prisoners of several savages; but the season coming in wet, this short campaign was terminated, for the reason that many of the companies were stricken with illness; so they

¹ May 20, 1676.

Barry, vol. ii., p. 441.

Captain Joseph Sylvester was undoubtedly a paternal ancestor of the author.

² Winslow's *Letter to Hinckley* of May 23, 1676, in *Hinckley MSS.*, vol. i., fol. iv., *Mass. Hist. Soc.*

1 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. vi., p. 92.

Deane, *Scituate*, pp. 125-128, 401.

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were soon after returned to Boston and dismissed from service. These were days of fasting and praying in the colonies, when services were held in all the churches and the success of the English was invoked of the Deity.

Encouraging reports came in concerning the Indians under Philip. Some were sick and others were discouraged, while his forces were being rapidly depleted.¹ In the latter part of May reports came into Northampton that a large body of Indians had pitched their wigwams at the Falls of the Connecticut. The Connecticut forces determined upon an attack; but before the troops could come up, a little body of settlers had been gathered from the towns of Hadley, Hatfield, and Northampton, and, under Captains Holyoke and Turner, took up their march for the falls under cover of darkness, where they found the Indians asleep. Leaving their horses fastened to the trees, they made a sortie on foot, and were so successful that in a description of this event one writer records that "great and notable slaughter was made amongst them." In spite of their success, before they were able to get far from the scene of action they were overtaken by a large body of warriors, estimated as being one thousand in number, under the leadership of Philip, and were pursued for some considerable distance, with a loss of sev-

¹ Hubbard, *Narrative*, pp. 82, 83.
Mather, p. 29.

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eral of their men, including Captain Turner, who was killed as he was making the passage of Green River.¹

A few days after, an attack was made on Hatfield, where a few buildings were destroyed and where the Indians were repulsed. Hadley was attacked about two weeks later. Some seven or eight hundred Indians made an ambush at one end of the town early in the morning, while a small party of savages undertook a ruse at its opposite end; but before they accomplished anything they were encountered by Major Savage and the troops of the neighborhood, and thrown into a panic, so that Hadley escaped.

It was apparent to the English that the Indians still entertained the purpose of carrying on the war to the end, and the troops which had been returned

¹ On Green River the four hundred feet of narrow rapids known as Turner's Falls are commemorative of this fatal episode, *de nominis umbra*.

Hubbard, pp. 87-89.

Mather, p. 29.

Life of Church, p. 32.

London Tract of October 13, p. 12.

Peter's *History of Connecticut*.

Drake, *Book of the Indians*, vol. i., p. 18.

For an account of the Turner's Falls fight, see Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., pp. 152-161.

Sheldon is minute in detail, and gives an especially fine description of this night encounter.

Ibid, p. 170.

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to Boston from Groton, and dismissed, were again called into service, and, under Captain HENCHMAN, were sent to the westward, where he captured a few Indians near Lancaster, to effect a successful junction with the Connecticut army; when the country on either side of the Connecticut was scoured with such effect that this section was thoroughly purged of the savages.

Then the tribes began to quarrel each with the other, the Nipmuck and River Indians taking their course to the northwest, while the Narragansetts kept on to the south, until Philip was practically deserted by these allies, who left him hardly more than a handful of men for his own protection. It was in these days that the web of disaster was being so thoroughly woven about Philip and his fortunes that it was simply a question of time when the ringleader of all these depredations upon the English would be captured.

July 24, 1676, Church was commissioned a captain by Governor Winslow. He had opened negotiations with Awashonks, the squaw-sachem of the Sogkonates. He was her over-night guest. She had made him a feast and a war-dance, after which she told him to take such of her warriors as he chose. Taking her at her word, he made up a war-party of Sogkonates, and, taking up his march that night,¹ he began a series of brilliant exploits that

¹ Dexter, *Life of Church*, p. 30.

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later brought him a roving commission. His career was notable as compared with that of Major Bradford, who seemed to find the jovialities of old Taunton Tavern more to his taste than the capturing of Indians for the slave-market. His operations were confined to the country between Narragansett Bay and Buzzard's Bay. His savage scouts were everywhere scattered through the woods, by day scouring the thickets and the swamps, and coming into camp at night with such information as they had acquired of the movements of the broken Narragansetts. He was so successful, and he captured so many savages, that the Plymouth government stipulated to keep him in stores, and to allow him one-half of such prisoners as he should capture, while his Sogkonates were to have the "loose plunder." It got to be his habit that whenever he returned to Plymouth it was with a string of slaves in his train. In acknowledgment of his extraordinary services, the government enlarged his scope of action. It gave him full power to raise such forces as he needed; also to commission officers for their command; to march whither and whenever he pleased, within the limits of the three colonies. He captured a squad of Munponset savages,¹ and from a captive he learned that Tispaquin was at

¹ Monponset (Moonponset, Maunipensing) Pond is situated in the north portion of Halifax, Mass. It is about ten miles W. N. W. from Plymouth.

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Assawompsett Neck. Acting with his usual celerity, Church, with his Sogkonates, found his prey, and, surprising the savages, who were in part Philip's and in part Quinnapin's, he captured one hundred twenty-six of them without the loss of a man.¹

Philip, getting news of Church's success, laid an ambush for him at the entering in of Assawompsett Neck; but Church, returning by Sippican,² got to Plymouth without further incident, bringing his prisoners through safely. He was at Plymouth

¹ Quinnapin (Panoquin, Sowagonish) was a Narragansett, and a nephew of Miantonomoh. He joined Philip's interest, one of his three wives being the sister of Wootonekanuske, the wife of Philip. He was in the Narragansett Swamp fight, and the attack on Lancaster, February 10, 1675; and was the purchaser of Mrs. Rowlandson, captured at that time. Soon after this foray by Church he fell into the hands of the English, and was shot at Newcastle, August, 1676, after court-martial.

Drake (*Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., p. 53) says Newport, R. I., was the place of his execution.

R. I. Hist. Coll., vol. iii., p. 173.

² Sippican River runs into Buzzard's Bay about half-way between the villages of Wareham and Marion, its lower length being the boundary between those towns (confluent with the Weweantitt). Seppecan (Sepaconnet) is related to Sebago (Abenake). Sōbebō ("la mer, eau salce," Ralé),—brackish water, rather than salt. Dexter says perhaps equivalent to Seippog (Eliot), used in James (vol. iii., p. 12) for "salt-water." Drake says the Massachusetts tribes had no word for "salt." *Iee* means "sour,"—hence, a bad taste in the mouth.

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several days, until a runner came in with the news that a great body of savages were about to cross the river toward Taunton or Bridgewater. The savages must be intercepted. Church was the acknowledged Indian-fighter of the colony. Active preparations were going on, when, about dusk, gunshots in the direction of Bridgewater indicated a sharp engagement at that place — which, however, was of short duration.

Early the following morning (in August, 1676) Church was on the move. Reaching the scene of the skirmish of the evening before, he came to a huge tree which had been felled and lodged for a foot-bridge across the stream. At its further end an Indian sat on the stump. Church's musket was at his shoulder; but his Indian scout, thinking the savage to be one of his own men, shouted to Church not to fire. The Indian on the stump turned his face toward Church. The latter at once recognized Philip. A bullet whistled over the stream; but Philip had slipped down the river-bank to the water, and thus made his escape. Church ordered his men, single file, over the river as rapidly as possible, using the fallen tree as a foot-bridge, and with his usual success captured a considerable number of Philip's people, among whom were Philip's wife and nine-year-old son.¹

¹"Philip's wife's name, Mr. Drake says, was Wootonekanuske; and he adds that she was the sister of one of the

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Finally getting upon the trail of the Mount Hope sachem and Quinnapin, with his Sogkonate allies he followed to where the savages had waded the

three wives of Quinnapin. Judge Davis gives an interesting account of the discussion that took place in the Colony in regard to the disposition to be made of Philip's son. The Court seem—as they often did, on questions concerning which they had doubt, and the more especially when those questions were of a moral nature—to have consulted the principal Reverend Elders. Samuel Arnold (pastor of the church in Marshfield) and John Cotton (Plymouth) write, 7 Sept., 1676, thus: 'Upon serious consideration, we humbly conceive that the children of notorious traitors, rebels and murderers, especially of such as have bin principal leaders and actors in such horrid villanies, and that against a whole nation, yea the whole Israel of God, may be involved in the guilt of their parents, and may, *salva republica*, be adjudged to death, as to us seems evident by the scripture instances of Saul, Achan, Haman, the children of whom were cut off by the sword of Justice for the transgressions of their parents, although, concerning some of those children, it be manifest that they were not capable of being coacters therein.' Increase Mather, of Boston, wrote to Mr. Cotton, 30 Oct., 1676: 'It is necessary that some effectual course should be taken about him (Philip's son). He makes me think of Hadad, who was a little child when his father (the chief sachem of the Edomites) was killed by Joab; and, had not others fled away with him, I am apt to think, that David would have taken a course, that Hadad should never have proved a scourge to the next generation.' Rev. James Keith, of Bridgewater, also wrote to Mr. Cotton, 30 Oct. 1676, but as follows: 'I long to hear what becomes of Philip's wife and son. I know there is some difficulty in that Psalm, cxxxvii: 8, 9, though I think it

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river. Church waded the river at the same place,¹ but the fleeing savages had escaped him once more. Church sent the Sogkonates to find Philip's hiding-place. They found the ashes of his fires, and so informing Church, he began his march anew after Philip, charging his men to go softly. Making their advance cautiously through the woods, they came upon the Wampanoag women and children, who had been unable to keep pace with Philip. They told Church that Philip was not far away. Before sundown there was a halt in the van. Church went forward. The enemy had been located. The allies were not to let Philip or his men out of their sight. But Philip had come to the end of his day's journey. His men began collecting wood with which to prepare their evening repast.

may be considered, whether there be not some specialty and somewhat extraordinary in it. That law, Deut. xxiv: 16, compared with the commended example of Amaziah, 2 Chron. xxv: 4, doth sway much with me in the case under consideration. I hope God will direct those whom it doth concern to a good issue, &c. &c.' By a letter from Dr. Cotton to Dr. Mather, 20 March, 1677, which contains this passing remark, 'Philip's boy goes now to be sold,' it is made almost certain that, with his mother he shared the fate of so many of his nation, and went to spend his spared life in Cadiz, or the Bermudas."

Church, *Philip's War*, p. 273, note.

¹ Local tradition puts the spot about a mile and a quarter up river from the junction of the Namasket with the Taunton.

Vide Dexter's *Life of Church*, pp. 38, 270, note.

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Church drew his company about him. Silently, and without fires, they sat down to watch the movements of the Wampanoag sachem. When the dawn began to break, Church left the Wampanoag women and children to take care of themselves. He had made his plans to force an immediate action. He sent two savages to discover Philip's situation; but they were intercepted by two of Philip's scouts, who were detailed by the latter to spy upon Church's movements. These latter made off on the run, filling the woods with their outcry. Philip and his warriors left the kettles in which their breakfast was simmering, the spits upon which their meats were roasting, to take instant refuge in a near-by swamp.

Church caught the cry and took up the pursuit. When he reached the swamp¹ he deployed his force on two sides of Philip's hiding-place. Isaac Howland kept one side, and Church the other. The orders were to keep along the sides of the swamp until they came together at its end, posting a party where the trail disappeared into it. They soon came together, to meet the enemy just emerging from the swamp cover. As if dumfounded by this brilliant and unexpected strategy of the English, the savages were hesitant. Church hailed

¹ Drake locates this swamp on Mattapoisset Neck, in Swanzezy. Dexter places it in the edge of Rehoboth, some two miles north of Squannakonk Swamp.

Life of Church, pp. 39, 278, note.

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them: "If a single gun was fired they were dead men! for he would have them know he had them hemmed in with a force sufficient to command them; but if they peaceably surrendered, they should have good quarter."

Panic-stricken, they were readily unarmed by the English. Counting their prisoners and the dead,¹ they discovered that Philip had once more escaped. Driving the Indians before them into the pound at Bridgewater² that night, the next day they haled them into Plymouth (August 4, 1676).

Philip was turned into a wild beast. He was feared by the English, himself fearing the English and his own race. Abandoned by his people, his family prisoners, himself a prey to sullen desperation, his footsteps had turned to the scenes of his childhood. He had returned to the neighborhood of Mount Hope; the last step in this savage tragedy was about to be essayed. Weetamoo,³ Alexander's

¹Hubbard, *Narrative*, p. 102.

Mather, *Brief History*, p. 44.

Dexter's *Life of Church*, p. 40.

Hubbard gives the number of savages killed and captured as "about one hundred and fifty-three."

Mather agrees with Hubbard.

Magnalia (edition of 1853), vol. ii., p. 575.

²The pound was on the north bank of Town River (West Bridgewater), about five rods from the stream and ten rods below the old town bridge.

³Sheldon, in his *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., pp. 139-143,

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widow, homesick, had come back. She had pitched her wigwams on the west bank of the Tehticut River, in Mattapoisett. The beginning of Philip's War involved her in the schemes of the Wampanoag sachem. She was compelled to take asylum with the Narragansetts. Their power broken, her kinspeople, the Wampanoags, seeking safety among the Nipmucks after the fight of July 30, deserted by her own people,¹ she was once more, among familiar

gives a most entertaining description of the daily life of Philip's household, in which were included Weetamoo, the Queen of Pocasset, and her husband, Quinnapin. Mrs. Rowlandson, who was captured in the first attack on Lancaster, February 10, 1676 (*vide* Mrs. Rowlandson's *Narrative*), was Weetamoo's lady-in-waiting. Her description of Weetamoo is here given. She says of her mistress:

"A severe proud dame, she was, bestowing every day in dressing herself, near as much time as any of the gentry of the land. Powdering her hair and painting her face, going with her necklaces, with jewels in her ears and bracelets upon her hands. When she had dressed herself, her work was to make girdles of wampum and beads. At great dances she wore a kersey coat, covered with girdles of wampum from the loins upward. Her arms from her elbows to her hands, were covered with bracelets. There were handfuls of necklaces about her neck, and several sorts of jewels in her ears. She had fine red stockings and white shoes, her hair powdered, and her face painted red, that was always before, black."

Quinnapin had bought Mrs. Rowlandson from one of his men, the same who had captured her, and had given her to his wife. Mrs. Rowlandson seems to have been especially favored in her captivity.

¹ Her old camp was just back of the Pocasset shore, on the

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scenes, to be betrayed by one of her own people. A deserter informed the English of her presence in the neighborhood. On August 6 her twenty-six men were captured, but she herself escaped, as had Philip.¹

The government was anxious for Church to re-engage in the hunt for Philip. Yielding to sollicita-

elevation a little to the north of what has been known as Howland's Ferry. That was where Church went to see her just before the savage outbreak of 1675.

¹On her return for the last time from the Nipmuck country, she pitched her wigwams, as well for the last time, on the west shore of the Tehticut River, where in attempting to make her escape to Pocasset, in crossing the river, she was drowned. She had crossed here the year before in her flight with Philip.

Drake, *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., p. 3.

"Weetamoo, 'who,' as Mr. Hubbard expresses, 'intending to make an escape from the danger, attempted to get over a river or arm of the sea near by, upon a raft, or some pieces of broken wood; but whether tired and spent with swimming, or starved with cold and hunger, she was found stark naked in Metapoiset, not far from the water side, which made some think she was first half-drowned, and so ended her wretched life.' 'Her head being cut off and set upon a pole in Taunton was known by some Indians then prisoners, which set them into a horrible lamentation.' Mr. Mather improves upon this passage, giving it in a style more to suit the taste of the times: 'They made a most horrid and diabolical lamentation, crying out that it was their queen's head.'"

In this connection, mention may be made of the last of the three squaw-sachems, Magnus (Old Queen, Sunk Squaw),

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tion, he led his men through the woods to Pocasset, and on over the ferry to Rhode Island.¹ There he was told that Philip was at Mount Hope Neck. The news was brought by one of the renegade Wampanoags. Once over the ferry, the march was taken silently in the direction of Mount Hope. They reached the swamp about midnight, guided by Philip's betrayer. They halted at the edge of the swamp, where Church directed Captain Golding to beat the cover, the rest of the party being so disposed about the place as to cut off all possibility of the Wampanoags' escape. Golding and his party crept through the swamp-thickets on all-fours. The stillness of the night was broken by a single musket-shot. A prowling Wampanoag had paid the penalty of his broken slumber, and Church's plan of attack had been summarily disposed of. Aroused from a sound sleep, the savages

who was a squaw-sachem over one of the subordinate divisions of the Narragansetts. July 2, 1676, in the massacre of the Indians which took place in a swamp in what is now Warwick, R. I., she was killed. Ninety of the Indians were slaughtered and one hundred seventy-one captured. The expedition was under Major Todd and Captain Newbury. In this wholesale murder of the savages but one of the attacking force (a Mohegan) was killed.

Drake, *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., p. 61.

Trumbull, vol. i., pp. 51, 97, 98.

Mather, *Brief History*, p. 3.

¹This was Tripp's Ferry.

Dexter's *Life of Church*, p. 43.

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filled the night with whoops of terror and slow-gathering defiance.

Golding's guns answered with abrupt challenge. The savages were up. They made for the open side of the swamp, Philip at their head. No chance there: he was surrounded. He could feel the mesh narrowing; he ran, half dressed, into the ambuscade. An English musket missed fire. That of the Sogkonate ally beside him did better, and the bullet sped, sure. Killed, by one of his tributaries,¹ the royal Philip fell face foremost into the mire of the swamp.

The English would have done well to have left him there; but they dragged him out to a dry spot, where the malignant indignities, preserved in the recollections of a semi-senility, offered to the dead savage seem incredible from the point of common decency.² The Indian who shot Philip was given

¹ Philip was surprised and killed by Colonel Church at a little knoll on the southwest side, at the foot of Mount Hope. Fessenden's *Warren, R. I.*, p. 40.

A savage named Alderman shot Philip, "a Sokonate," says Hubbard (*Narrative*, p. 106); but Mather says, "The Indian who thus killed Philip did formerly belong to the Squaw-Sachem of Pocasset, (Weetamoo), being known by the name of Alderman."

Mather, *Brief History*, p. 47.

Church says, "Capt. Church gave the head and the hand to Alderman, the Indian who shot him."

Dexter, *Life of Church*, p. 45.

²The *Life of Church* (Dexter) would have reflected more

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the latter's head and hand, in the showing of which to the colonial bumpkins the traitorous Wampanoag turned some stray pennies into his pocket.

Philip was shot August 12, 1676. Shortly after, Annawon¹ was captured in the wilds of Squannakonk Swamp in Rehoboth, with all his men. Later, Tispaquin² surrendered. These were the last of Philip's war-chiefs. With Tyask (Tiashq), whose festering corpse kept his silent and deserted wigwam inodorous company, Philip's great triumverate had kept him company to the Happy Hunting-

decency upon the episode which comprised the death of Philip had the "small speech" of the savage, which Church evidently puts into the former's mouth, been forgotten. The English butchers and slave-dealers of the United Colonies proved themselves no whit better than the poor untutored savages they plotted so successfully to annihilate.

¹One of Massasoit's chiefs, and so one of the oldest warriors under Philip; one of his most famous counsellors. He was with Philip when the latter was killed at the Mount Hope swamp. He was afterward captured by Church in a cavernous defile near Squannakonk Swamp, in Rehoboth (on the turn-pike from Taunton to Providence, about six and a half miles from the former place). Annawon was taken to Plymouth, where he was executed.

Drake's *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., pp. 47-50.

²Sachem of Assawompsett (the Black-sachem). He led the attack on Scituate. He surrendered to Church on the latter's assurance that he should not be killed. He was taken to Plymouth, and there beheaded.

Ibid., vol. iii., pp. 53-56.

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grounds.¹ With the death of Tatoson² the careers of Philip's subordinate leaders may be said to have been closed.

Philip had made the struggle of his life, and had failed. Utter disaster had come to all who had espoused his cause. The scanty privilege of making a struggle for even a meager existence was denied the aborigine by the forces of civilization. One does not go far to find those who would add abuse to injury, even after the Indian had ceased to exist. The selling of Philip's nine-year-old son, with his mother, into slavery may be considered the climax of Plymouth's pretension as a Christian government.

With the death of Philip, his confederates who had engaged with him in these various encounters with the English, afraid of utter annihilation, at

¹Church says this chief was "next to Philip." The English had taken his wife and son. He died alone, in his wigwam over on Mount Hope Neck, shortly after the death of Philip.

Drake's *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., pp. 59, 60.

²Tatoson (Totoson, Tautozen) is said to have been a son of Sam Barrow. His camp is supposed to have been located at Towser's Neck, a spit of land running into Great Bear Swamp, a mile and a half south from Rochester village, and a short distance east of the road to Mattapoisett. He led the Indian raid against Clark's garrison, March 12, 1676, which resulted in a massacre of the English there. He died soon after Philip. For an extended account, *vide* Drake, *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., pp. 53-59.

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once sought opportunity to lose themselves among the more northern Pennacooks, who had not been identified with King Philip in his conflict for the redemption of his people from the coercive policies of the English. They began to quietly disperse themselves among the eastern tribes. Many of them found their way to the Ossipees and Pequawkets, who had made a peace with Major Waldron; but they were not wholly successful. Mention has been made of the apprehension of Simon, Peter, and Andrew. Others had been taken, and had been executed publicly.

These proceedings on the part of those sent out from the Massachusetts Colony stirred up hostilities anew; and if the savages were desirous of renewing their depredations on the settlements about the Piscataqua, and further eastward into Maine, they had ample encouragement. The English had a brave faculty for getting into these warlike difficulties, but those hostilities about to be recorded on the part of the eastern Indians are directly chargeable to the advent of two companies of troops into New Hampshire, under Captains Joseph Syll and William Hathorne. On September 6, 1676, they came into Cocheco, where four hundred Indians belonging to the several Abenake tribes, with whom were many of the remnants from Massachusetts, had gathered at the house of Major Waldron. They were friendly to Waldron, and it was only by the utmost effort the latter was able to keep the

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Massachusetts troops from making an immediate attack on the savages, as their orders were to seize all Indians who had been concerned in Philip's War. Waldron compromised with Syll and Hathorne, and a stratagem was concocted, that for treachery has not its equal in Indian annals. Belknap is not to be improved upon in his relation of this disreputable episode. That author says:

"The major proposed to the Indians to have a training the next day, and a sham fight after the English mode; and summoning his own men, with those under Captain Frost of Kittery, they, in conjunction with the two companies, formed one party, and the Indians another. Having diverted them a while in this manner, and caused the Indians to fire the first volley; by a peculiar dexterity, the whole body of them (except two or three) were surrounded, before they could form a suspicion of what was intended. They were immediately seized and disarmed, without the loss of a man on either side. A separation was then made: Wonnalancet, with the Pennacook Indians, and others who had joined in making peace the winter before, were peaceably dismissed; but the strange Indians, (as they called them) who had fled from the southward and taken refuge among them, were made prisoners, to the number of two hundred; and being sent to Boston, seven or eight of them, who were known to have killed any Englishmen, were condemned and

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hanged; the rest were sold into slavery in foreign parts."¹

Any advantage that could be had over the Indians was greeted by the Massachusetts Puritans with great satisfaction. They charged the savages with being rebels; and, throwing aside every right the native might claim under the code of war, they carried out a policy of extirpation that had no foundation of right or reason. They had accepted Waldron's terms and were at peace with the English. They were on a friendly visit, and they had every claim to the hospitality of the English. Belknap notes that this deception practised on the Indians had the general approval of the colony. With what had before transpired, the sense of fairness and common honesty of these people had been blunted to such a degree that one could not look for much else.

Such of the eastern tribes as did not happen to fall into the hands of the English at Cocheco at

¹ Belknap notes: "The above account of the seizure of the Indians is given from the most authentic and credible tradition that could be obtained within the last sixteen years, from the posterity of those persons who were concerned in the affair. It is but just mentioned by Hubbard and Mather, and not in connection with its consequences. Neal, for want of better information, has given a wrong turn to the relation, and so has Wynne who copies from him. Hutchinson has not mentioned it at all."

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 76, note.

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once looked upon the unfortunate happening as a declaration of war; for while they had given asylum to these homeless Wampanoags and Narragansetts, being at peace themselves, under conditions up to that time strictly observed, they charged Waldron with a breach of faith — with some reason.

The Indian idea of government was limited. In the concrete they knew little of such; but they knew what a breach of faith was; and where it brought them injury such was never forgotten or forgiven. Waldron's integrity has been questioned, and rightly; for the stratagem could not have succeeded without his acquiescence. His judgment may not have approved, but the act speaks for itself. Some have said that he was obliged to answer to the demands of the government, and perhaps he revolted against so deep a deception; for he knew that many of the Indians of New Hampshire were loyal in their friendship toward the settlers of that section.

Two days after this *coup* of Syll and Hathorne, the English forces took up their march to the eastward, with some of Waldron's and Captain Frost's men. They were accompanied by eight or nine of the tribe which had its habitat adjacent to Cocheco, under the sagamore Blind Will. These went along as pilots (guides). They found the eastern settlements devastated, from the ravages of the year before. They found no Indians, so thoroughly had the alarm spread among the savages; and find-

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ing their errand a fruitless one, they returned over the Piscataqua into New Hampshire.

Not satisfied with their expedition into Maine, about the first of November they marched toward the Ossipee waters, where the Indians were fortified, having a considerable fort with timbered walls and flankarts. It had been built some years before by some English house-builders as a defence against the warlike Mohawks, whose raids were a terror to the more southern Abenake. A surprise on this place was planned to take place in the early winter, when the savages had gone into quarters. If they did not find any Indians, they might destroy the fort, with its provisions. Following the rough trail of the Ossipees four days, threading valleys, climbing mountains, and getting across the intervening streams, they came to the fort. It was deserted. Here it was determined to halt the main body, while a party of eighteen was selected to push still further into the wilderness. The season was severe, and the snow was piled deep in the woods. They plodded through the frozen forest, but for twenty miles they came upon nothing but the grim silences of snow-laden trees and ice-locked streams. Deciding that the Ossipees had taken up winter quarters nearer the sea, they began their march homeward, which, nine days from their departure, brought them again to Newichawannock.

This expedition had been based upon a tale invented by Mugg, whom Belknap calls a "Penob-

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scot Indian" (Mugg was a Norridgewock sachem),¹ who had come in from the eastward with an alleged proposal to enter into a peace treaty. Two Portsmouth Englishmen came with him. They were Fryer and Gendal, who had been captured at Richmond Island,² in the attack on Black Point, about

¹"Mugg was a chief among the Androscoggins, and very conspicuous in the eastern war of 1676-7, into which he seems to have been brought by the same cause as Madokawando, already stated. He had been very friendly to the English and had lived some time with them.

"On the 12th Oct. 1676, he made an assault upon Black Point, now in Scarborough, with about 100 warriors. All the inhabitants being gathered into one fortified place upon that point, a few hands might have defended it against all the Indians on that side of the country. While the captain of the garrison was gone out to hold a talk with Mugg, the people fled from the garrison, and took all their effects along with them. A few of his own servants, however, remained, who fell into the hands of the chief, who treated them kindly."

Drake's *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., p. 105.

²After making a raid on Henry Jocelyn's garrison at Black Point, finding all the inhabitants fled but Jocelyn, his family, and servants, the savages under Mugg, "next proceeded to Richmond Island; a vessel was lying here belonging to Mr. Fryer, of Portsmouth, which had been sent, by the solicitation of Walter Gendall, to preserve the property upon the island. While they were engaged in this duty, they were attacked by a multitude of the enemy. Owing to the unfavorable state of the wind, they were unable to get their vessel out of the harbor; the enemy seized this advantage and proceeded to cut the cable of the vessel, while part of them stood ready to shoot down every man who appeared on her

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the middle of the preceding October. Mugg told Syll and Hathorne that a party of one hundred Indians had assembled at Ossipee. Mugg had been deputed to accomplish the treaty, and was on his way to Boston. The treaty was entered into and signed November 6, 1676, Mugg remaining as a hostage until Massachusetts had sent vessels to the Penobscot, where Mugg's stipulations were ratified by Madockawando, the Tarratine sachem. Two captives were restored, probably Fryer and Gendal (Belknap has it "Kendal.") Mugg was allowed by the English to make a visit to some neighboring Indians, promising to return within three days; but he forgot to do so. The English thought he had fallen prey to the treachery of some Indians disaffected toward them; but their apprehensions were set at rest by a captive who had succeeded in getting away from the savages, to whom Mugg had boasted of his deception of the English. He also brought the unwelcome information that the Indians were to take the war-path the coming spring.

deck to render any assistance. Under these circumstances the vessel was driven ashore, and the crew, consisting of eleven persons, were taken prisoners. Among them was James Fryer, son of the owner, a respectable young man of Portsmouth, who afterward died of wounds received in that engagement; also Walter Gendall, who became of service to the enemy as interpreter and messenger."

Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. i., pp. 226, 227.

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Peace was an uncertain factor; and the treachery of Mugg, who was held hostage for the strict adherence to the treaty, was declared by the English to be a sufficient ground for another hostile movement against the eastern tribes. But before entering into the campaign of 1677 a glance at occurrences happening at mid-August about Casco Bay and the lands between that and the Saco River is instructive.

The ravages of the autumn of 1675 about Casco and the Saco River have been related, when the Wakely family were destroyed, and those who got off unscathed found their way to Salem and elsewhere; yet that section was by no means wholly deserted. Enough were left to invite a resumption of hostilities the following August. In the summer of 1676 there had been a rumor of the enticing away into slavery of some Cape Sable Indians. Squando's wife and babe had been brutally drowned. The restriction on the sale of ammunition to the savages was provoking deep resentment. "Waldron's ruse" was in itself a sufficient pretext for open hostilities.

The tragedy was given its opening performance at Casco, on August 11, 1676. In the foreground of the initial scene was the cabin of Anthony Brackett. In the background was a salt creek and tide basin known as Back Cove, which made up toward Portland's Deering Oaks Park. The cabin was on the sloping land not far from the famous

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Deering Manse. The leader of the savages was Simon (Symon) the Tarratine, the same who had hardly six months before made his escape from Dover jail. He made some friendly advances to Brackett, and in a way got his confidence. On August 9 the Indians killed one of Brackett's cows. Simon promised to bring the perpetrators to Brackett; and early in the morning of August 11 Simon came, accompanied by some other savages. He told Brackett these were the culprits. They went into the house, where they secured the guns and then told Brackett that he and his family were prisoners. Binding their hands, Brackett, his wife, their five children, and a negro servant, after killing Nathaniel Mitton,¹ who happened to be at Brackett's, because he resisted, they got away around the north edge of the cove to the Corbin cabin on the Presumpscott River, where they killed three men

¹ Only son of Michael Mitton, who married Betsy Cleeve, the daughter of George Cleeve, the first settler of Portland.

Willis, *History of Portland*, p. 219.

"The name of Mitton became extinct here, by the death of Michael's only son, Nathaniel, who was killed by the Indians, August 11, 1676, unmarried. The blood flows through a thousand channels from his five daughters who married two Bracketts, Clark, Andrews, Graves. The name still exists in Shropshire and Staffordshire, in England. In 1484, one Mitton was Sheriff of Shrewsbury. In the contest between Richmond and Richard III., he took an oath that Richmond should not enter Shrewsbury but over his body.

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who were making hay on the Corbin farm.¹ The women and children in a neighboring cabin, taking the alarm, got away in a canoe. Corbin's wife was taken, with another woman, along with her children, as was James Ross, the town constable.

A settler named Pike,² who, with another man, was in a boat up stream a little from Corbin's cabin, gave the alarm to the other parts of the town. Hearing the reports of the guns, and seeing a boy making for the river on the run, they turned back, while the bullets hurtled over their heads. Simon called to them to come ashore; but, not liking "his curtesy," they made down stream, shouting, to those in their houses, as they went, to get to the garrison at once, while they warned the other settlers to get their guns and protect themselves as best they could.

The Indians left Pike, to make their way around to the Neck, where they killed John Munjoy and

But when Richmond, victorious, approached the city, he changed his mind, and in order to save his oath, it was agreed that he should lie down on his back, and that when Richmond entered the city, he should step over his body."

Willis, *History of Portland*, p. 66, note.

¹Robert Corbin, Humphrey Durham, and Benjamin Atwell. The two latter were brothers-in-law, and occupied adjoining farms on the opposite side of the Presumpscott.

Ibid, p. 219.

²Richard Pike lived on the west side of Mussel Cove.

Ibid.

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one of the Wakely boys.¹ Three men were on their way to Anthony Brackett's to reap grain; but, hearing of the descent of the savages upon the Bracketts, they turned toward Thomas Brackett's house, near Clark's Point. They got there in time to see Brackett killed by an Indian bullet, and his wife and children captured. The three men made their escape to Munjoy's garrison, at the lower end of the Neck.²

Those who had taken refuge at Munjoy's garrison, not feeling wholly secure, that same day went to James Andrew's Island,³ somewhat down the bay, and toward the mouth of the harbor. It was

¹"Isaac Wakely, probably a son of Thomas Wakely."
Willis, *History of Portland*, p. 220.

²Munjoy's garrison was the nearest place of refuge. George Munjoy came to Falmouth from Boston. He married a daughter of John Phillips, of Boston, merchant. Phillips purchased the Cleaves homestead, September, 1659, at the lower end of Casco Neck, and upon a part of this land erected a house for his son-in-law, under the shadows of the hill which is now known as Munjoy Hill. The Munjoy line is extinct in Portland.

Ibid, p. 153.

³Now Bangs Island.

Ibid, p. 220.

Bangs Island was originally Portland Island. Hubbard so calls it. It has been known as Andrew's Island. It was named latterly for Joshua Bangs, who came here from Cape Cod. He died in 1761.

Ibid, p. 146, note.

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from this island George Burroughs, afterward put on trial at Salem for witchcraft, wrote Henry Jocelyn at Black Point for assistance. Reaching the island, they remembered that some powder had been left behind, which they resolved to go after that night. The attempt was successful; for they took away a barrel from Wallis' house, and, as well, quite a quantity from a chest in one of the storehouses which the Indians had ransacked, to overlook the powder.

George Lewis and his wife, being left behind, the next day joined their neighbors at Andrew's Island, together with two men from Dover, who had been despatched by Waldron to warn the Falmouth people of Simon, who had fallen under a grave suspicion. George Felt, whose house was at March Cove, saw the smoke from the houses on the Neck, and started out with his family to discover the reason. Near the mouth of the Presumpscott, he saw some of his neighbors' chattels by the water, and, taking swift warning, he laid his course for the island to which the Falmouth people had escaped.

Of those killed and captured in this raid upon Falmouth, Hubbard gives the number as twenty-four. These were all located on the north side of Casco River. On the south side the people got away safely, undoubtedly warned by the heavy smoke which hung over the Neck settlements and out beyond Mackworth's Island. Willis says there is no means of knowing how many buildings were

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destroyed. Hubbard would indicate that those of the two Bracketts, Corbin, Atwell, Ross, and Durham were burned.¹ They were very ordinary shelters, common to those early years. Willis says, "Probably one story with thatched roof and *wooden* chimneys, (catted chimneys.) Many of them were temporary shelters built of logs filled in with clay."

Glutted with blood and the torch, Simon started his captives toward the Kennebec River. On August 14 the savages along the Kennebec began a series of depredations similar to those committed at Falmouth. The cabin of Richard Hammond was attacked. He was killed; also Samuel Smith and Joshua Grant.

Breaking into two parties, the savages went, one up river, where they attacked the cabin of Francis Card, making prisoners of the entire family.² The other party went down stream to Arrowsic (George-

¹*MS. Letter of Brian Pendleton, August 13, 1676: "On the 11 of this instant wee heard of many killed of our naybors in Falmouth or Casco Bay, and on the 12 instant Mr. Joslin sent mee a brieve written letter from under the hand of Mr. Burns, the minister. Hee gives an account of thirty-two killed and carried away by the Indians. Himself escaped to an island—but I hope Black Point men have fetched him off by this time—ten men, six women, sixteen children. Anthony and Thomas Brackett and Mr. Munjoy his sonne onely are named."*

Willis, *History of Portland*, p. 222, note.

²*Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. iii., p. 111.

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town). Thomas Lake was here as early as 1659. With Thomas Clark, he purchased the title to Arrowskeag (Arrowsic), where they plotted a town on the south part of the island. Ten-acre lots were surveyed out for the settlers. In 1660 Hammond's Fort was at Stinson's Point (Woolwich). Hammond had a trading-house at Ticonic Falls. He is reported to have dealt hardly with the savages, cheating them, and even robbing them of their furs. It was before the Arrowsic Fort the Indians appeared in the quiet of that August Sabbath morning. The people were at church. Hammond was killed, and his house looted.¹ About two miles be-

¹*Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. ii., p. 192.

"They first fell upon a trader's establishment at Stinson's Point, Woolwich, not far from the present ferry. This was kept by a man whose name was Richard Hammond. He had been a long time a trader with the Indians, and they complained of his cheating them. Once, they said, he filled them with strong drink, and took away their furs. Remembering his offences, a vindictive party of them visited the place, whose looks and airs so frightened a young maid, that she started to go away, but an Indian brought her back, and told her she had nothing to fear. Still more terrified by a larger number of them, who had just arrived, she escaped and traveled over land 15 miles to Sheepscot Plantation, where she gave the alarm, and the terrified inhabitants immediately fled, leaving all their possessions behind them. They had only fairly got away from them when the savage warriors arrived, set up their fiendish warwhoop, then set fire to the buildings, killed the sheep and the cattle, and thus destroyed the labor and

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low Hammond's Fort were the fort and trading-house of Clark and Lake. After their success at Hammond's the savages kept on down the island to Lake's settlement, which they overpowered. Lake, in attempting to escape, was shot.¹ Captain Silvanus Davis, afterward a member of His Majesty's Council, and in 1670 a representative from Arrowsic, was here wounded, with some others, but escaped capture.² While here, the attacking sav-

care of years. The terrified inhabitants fled on board the vessel that was building in the harbor, and thus saved themselves from the fury of an unrelenting foe."

Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. iv., p. 222.

¹"Captain Thomas Lake was a merchant of good character, and was the joint owner with Major Clarke of Boston of Arrowsick island, in Maine, where he had a house and occasionally resided. It was while residing here, that he was killed by the Indians on the 14 of August, 1676. Hubbard, *Eastern Wars*, 41, 42. Hutch. *Hist. Mass.*, i. 209. *Records of the 2d church in Boston*.—Hubbard, page 72, states that 'the body of Capt. Lake was preserved entire and whole and free from putrefaction by the coldness of the long winter.' By what means the body could be so long preserved from decomposition, Captain Lake having been killed in the preceding August, it may be difficult to explain, but we must seek for an additional cause to the one assigned by Hubbard."

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 79, note.

²"Clarke and Lake had another fort and trading establishment on Arrowsic, about two miles below Hammond's, and near where the old meeting house in Georgetown now stands. The people at this garrison were also attacked immediately after the attack upon Hammond's, and overpowered.

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ages were joined by Simon and his party and those who made the raid on the Cards. Anthony Brackett and his wife had been brought along from Falmouth.¹

In the opening days of September there were some one hundred warriors here at Arrowsic. They had scoured the country from Sheepscot to Pemquid, and then they descended upon Jewell's

Capt. Lake was shot in attempting to escape, and Samuel Smith and Joshua Grant were among the killed, and Francis Card taken prisoner. Captain Sylvanus Davis, who afterwards was a member of his Majesty's Council, and who in 1670 was a representative from Arrowsic, was wounded, but not taken prisoner. This was in 1676."

Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. ii., p. 192.

¹"It was on this occasion that Anthony Brackett and his family escaped out of their hands by means of an old birch canoe which his wife repaired with a needle and thread found in a deserted house. Their captors were so anxious to press forward and share in the success of their friends of the Kennebec, that they left Brackett and his family to follow after them. Hubbard says, 'In that old canoe they crossed a water eight or nine miles broad, and when they came on the south side of the bay, they might have been in as much danger of other Indians that had lately been about Black Point and had taken it; but they were newly gone; so things on all sides thus concurring to help forward their deliverance, they came safely to Black Point, where also they met with a vessel bound for Piscataqua, that came into that harbor but a few hours before they came hither, by which means they arrived safely in Piscataqua River soon after.'"

Ibid., vol. i., p. 224.

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Island, to which the English had resorted for safety. It was in the bottom of Casco Bay, and remote from the settlements, but the savages had ferreted them out. To their dismay, the English found that distance was not a factor of safety against savage invasion. On the island was a garrison, or block-house, which the Indians found weakly supported. Some were away after provisions; some, scattered about the island, feeling secure in their isolation. The garrison was at once assaulted. The occupants kept up a sturdy defence until some of those who had been after provisions appeared. Breaking through the straggling cordon of Indians, they reached the garrison and so prevented its being taken.

The Indians finally retiring, the English were rescued and taken away in a vessel sent by Massachusetts. In this attack the Indians lost several. Three of the English were killed. September 23, some of the refugees from Casco were driven by hunger to go over to Munjoy's Island¹ after some sheep for meat. A half-dozen men had made shore when they were ambuscaded by the savages. They reached the dilapidated fort on the island, and, making all the defence possible, not one escaped. One of the party was George Felt, who had been especially active against the Indians.

¹ House Island is meant. Munjoy's Island is now known as Peak's.

Willis, *History of Portland*, p. 225, note.

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The news of these outrages reached Massachusetts. That colony took immediate measures for the protection of the eastern settlers. Captains Hathorne, Syll, and Hunting were at once despatched to Casco Bay, with nearly two hundred English and friendly Indians, and, going by coast, they made Casco September 20; although they saw hardly a house along their way east of the Piscataqua, they met with but two savages on their way thither. One of these was shot. The other escaped them at Falmouth Back Cove, to give the alarm, to some Indians who were threshing grain in Anthony Brackett's barn, that the English had come; so they all got away. The soldiers remained here into the opening days of October, when they left for Boston without having accomplished anything of note. Hardly were the English out of sight than a hundred Indians followed their back-trail to swoop down on Black Point,¹ October 12, 1676, when the settlers of the vicinity had taken refuge in Jocelyn's garrison-house.

¹Jocelyn came to Black Point in 1635, from Piscataqua, where he was agent for Gorges and Mason in 1634. He was a member of the court of Saco in 1636.

Willis, *Portland*, p. 62, note.

For account of Henry Jocelyn, *vide* Sylvester, *Maine Pioneer Settlements*, vol. iii., chap. on Black Point.

Black Point forms the east shore of the old Owascoag River, the confluence of the Nonsuch and Northern Rivers, that fork northward across the Scarborough marshes. When

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The first attack on Scarborough was in September, 1675. Robert Nichols had a cabin on the upper end of Blue Point, somewhat apart from his neighbors, it being the fashion of those early days to build in proximity to the most cultivable lands, without reference to the companionships of others. The savages had retired from Saco. Blue Point lay directly in their path to the eastward, where they came upon the isolated Nichols farm. They found Nichols and his wife, aged and defenceless, alone, and an easy prey; so they brutally butchered them, after which they set fire to the cabin, the lone smoke of their wanton devastation drifting out over the marshes, a sinister warning to the Algernons, whose farms were farther up the river. Robert Nichols the son was away, and so escaped the fate of his father and mother. He regarded Marblehead as

the tide is at flood they are considerable streams. The Owascoag is at all times navigable, varying from a half-mile to a mile in width.

The Spurwink River makes the northeastern boundary of Black Point—a most picturesque locality. On the plain between Moor's Brook and Massacre Pond was Scottow's Fort. It was built by Capt. Joshua Scottow in 1681, who before that kept an "ordinary" (tavern) at this place. This fort was a considerable fortification, and is not to be confounded with the great garrison-house which was taken from Jocelyn, which was under Scottow's command. Scottow kept a *Journal*, which is to be found among the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It dates from 1675. The last entry is of April 9, 1676.

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the safer place, and it was there he immediately after took up his residence.

Then came the attack on the Algernons, the following month. The Alger garrison-house was near the "old landing," and somewhat distant from the Point settlements, the cabin-smokes of which were plainly visible. The Algernons had taken the alarm after the raid on the Nichols cabin, and were getting together their chattels for a remove to Black Point. While at work on this design in their garrison-house, the savages appeared suddenly and made an attempt to capture the place; but abandoned the premises after burning the houses near-by, belonging to the Alger children, retiring into the shelter of the woods, leaving the elder Algernons mortally wounded by their musket-shots. The Algernons had, however, made so stout a defence that the savages were unwilling to make a more intimate acquaintance with these two settlers. (Mather says that Arthur Alger was not killed until some days later, when he was crossing the marshes to Black Point.) The above is Southgate's relation, as one finds it in his *History of Scarborough*.¹ Peter Withum's deposition is here quoted:

"The deposition of Peter Withum aged 72 years, testifies that I, about 52 or 3 years ago, then being in the Country's service under command of Capt. John Wincoll, and being posted with other soldiers

¹ Southgate, *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. iii.

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at Blue Poynt at Mr. Foxwell's garrison, went up to Dunstan to guard Andrew and Arthur Alger, and we assisted them to carry off their grain. Some days after which the said Andrew and Arthur with some of their relations went from Shelton's garrison (Shelden's, at Black Point) to Dunstan to bring off some of their goods, and were beset by the Indians, and said Andrew was killed, and said Arthur was mortally wounded. I did help to carry one off, and also to bury them both."¹

Withum's deposition seems to be conclusive.

Some time before the Algers were killed the Massachusetts authorities had stationed forty soldiers at Scottow's Fort (on the Neck); and after the Nichols tragedy Joseph Oliver went to Scottow for eight or ten men to go to the aid of the Dunstan settlement, at the head of the marshes; but Scottow refused, suggesting that the Algers and others at Dunstan might have come to the fort, as well as Oliver. (Oliver's descendants are still living on Winnock Neck, and the door to the old cabin, with its bullet-holes, is still shown as a memento of the day of long years ago when Mrs. Plaisted found twenty painted savages at her cabin threshold. Her husband had gone to the Nonsuch River, fishing. The courageous wife was alone, except for her four-year-old child. The savages had surrounded the cabin and were forcing the door when she discovered her

¹Southgate, *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. iii., p. 105.

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danger; but her wits were sharpened by her extreme peril, and she began calling out to her neighbors as if they had been actually present,— names of those of whom the savages stood greatly in fear, as Indian fighters,— giving orders for defence to her imaginary company and noisily rattling the iron ramrod in her husband's musket; while the little one pushed the chairs about and upset them with a great clatter, under the mother's direction. The ruse was successful, and after a few shots at the Plaisted door, the savages took to their heels. In the immediate vicinity is Indian Knoll and the site of Plaisted's garrison-house. where John Winnock had his house in 1665. Such is the story of the two bullet-holes in a door that still swings in and out many times a day on its huge hand-wrought hinges.)

October 30, 1675, Capt. John Wincoll, with some sixty men, went from Black Point to Dunstan, to the house of Andrew Brown; but the savages left the place unmolested until, two days later, Sergeant Oliver, with eighteen men, going to Dunstan after corn, were attacked by some sixty savages, who gave his party a volley, after which they took to the shelter of the bushes to reload their guns for another sally; but Lieutenant Tippen, coming up with a squad of fifteen men, stopped the fight, as the Indians, after some talk with the English, drew off.

In the fall of 1676 Henry Jocelyn's house be-

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came the storm-center of events. The Indians had wrought their deviltry mostly to the eastward the previous year, extending their depredations as far as the Kennebec. The burning of Casco was a matter of history. It was now the turn of Black Point, of which Jocelyn's garrison was the objective. Under Mugg, who had been entertained often by Jocelyn, who kept open house to everybody, the savages gathered upon the outskirts of the settlement. Mugg came into Jocelyn's premises alone, where he proposed a parley. Scottow was away and Jocelyn was temporarily in command. Mugg knew the settlers had taken refuge with Jocelyn, and he determined to make captives of them without a fight, if possible.

When the parley was closed, and Jocelyn had returned into the garrison, he found only his own family. His neighbors had deserted him. They had taken all the boats and gone, with their portable chattels, to Richmond's Island, to the eastward. Jocelyn gave himself into Mugg's custody, and Mugg returned to him the same kindly consideration he had beforetime received from Jocelyn. Mugg was in possession of the Black Point garrison-house, a strong fortification, the acquisition of which by the savages may be considered the most important advantage attained over the English in King Philip's War. Mugg, elated, began to boast that he would kill all the English, capture their fishing-schooners, and take over the whole country.

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It is very evident that the savages did not burn this fort; for later, in November, the sixty captives taken in this raid and that upon Richmond's Island, whither Mugg followed the fleeing settlers, were returned for a ransom paid by the Massachusetts government, and Black Point was again in the hands of the English, after Mugg had signed at Boston a treaty in behalf of Madockawando. In 1677 Black Point Fort was under the command of Lieutenant Tippen.

May 13, 1677, the Indians made a second attempt to capture Black Point Fort. It was a three days' fight; but on the last day (May 16) "Lieut. Tippen made a successful shot upon an Indian that was observed to be very busy and bold in the assault, who at that time was deemed to be Symon . . . but proved to be one almost as good as himself, who was called Mugg."

With the fall of Mugg the fight was over. The savages got into their canoes and paddled away toward Cape Neddock. A full account of the Indian troubles in the neighborhood of Scarborough, from 1633 to 1783, has been most entertainingly related by Mr. William S. Southgate.¹

After the raid on Jocelyn's garrison (1676) and Richmond's Island,² the savages drifted into Wells.

¹ Southgate, *History of Scarborough, Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. iii.

² Sylvester, *Maine Pioneer Settlements*, vol. iii., p. 358.
Vide note on Fryer and Gendal, *ante*.

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They divided themselves into several parties, and, lurking in the woods from Wells to York, they missed no opportunity for venting their hatred on the settlers. A considerable party had been hovering between Wells meeting-house and Little River. Here was a virgin forest, and the savages were well hidden. The Wells settlers had not heard of the murder of the six men at Peak's Island¹ the day before, so slow were the methods of communication; and, unsuspecting, they kept at their usual avocations. On September 24 the settlers were at church, and doubtless carried their guns along to meet such emergency as might happen. So long as they kept to the church they were safe. The Indians were superstitious, and the house of the white man's Manitou was not so great a remove from the chapel of the Jesuit but that they had some inkling of the reverence due the place, especially when the minister (or priest) was at the altar.

When church was out the settlers started for their homes. Among these were James Gooch and his wife. The former was shot. His wife was hacked to pieces by the hatchets of the savages. They were on horseback, the wife on the pillion behind, her arms about his waist.² These were the only victims on that day; but Cape Neddock was

¹ Probably House Island.

² Bourne, *History of Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 146.

MS. Letter of Richard Martin, September 26, 1676: "On

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raided and utterly destroyed. Forty settlers were killed or made prisoners. Cape Neddock was too far away to hear the guns. Naturally, the sudden revelation of the savages to the Wells settlers would keep them within their houses, and no runner went southward with the alarm. It is doubtful if there was a garrison-house at Cape Neddock. It was somewhat off the trail, and it is evident its settlers had no thought of peril; for the savages were making their terrible visitation here for the first time. In the later Indian wars Cape Neddock, like the other settlements, had its blockhouse, or garrison.

Cape Neddock destroyed, the savages made their way back to Wells, where George Farrow and another, whose name history has not recorded, were butchered. The local annalist simply records the fact of the slaying. That was enough; for Wells and the settlers made their plans for defence; but the savages had disappeared. Hardly a month later the savages were at Wells again, with Mugg at their head; and the English forces, being insufficient in

Sabbath last a man and his wife, namely, one Gouge, were shot dead and killed by the Indians at Wells, at two or three o'clock."

Willis, *Portland*, p. 223, note.

"A ruling principle with the tribes was to kill or carry into captivity men whose loss would be keenly felt. The greater the injury they could commit, and the more saddening its effect, the stronger the motive for the crime."

Bourne, *History of Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 145.

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the field, as well as greatly outnumbered by the Indians, sought their garrison, which was situated at the "town's end," which Bourne locates near the site of the old John Runkin house.¹ He says, "The end of the village on the King's road was here." Here was the Wheelright garrison, and the old Eaton place was another. Bourne has no assurance that these garrisons were in existence at that time. The history of those days seems to have passed on for a time by word of mouth, before any record was made of their happenings.

It was here at the garrison at the "town's end" that Mugg and his savages came. With them was Walter Gendal, captured at Richmond's Island. Mugg sent him into the little fort to demand its surrender. The demand was ignored. John Wheelright, even then a minor, sent word to Mugg, "Never, never shall the gates be opened till every one within is dead." Wheelright had counted the cost; he knew the treachery and barbarity of the savage, but surrender would have invited both, so he had decided to leave the result to the fortunes of war. He knew it would not be long before the country would be aroused, and that whatever the savages had in mind to do would follow his reply. The garrison was on the alert, but the Indians kept out of gun-shot. One lad named Isaac Littlefield was killed, also one man. Thirteen cattle were

¹ Bourne, *History of Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 147.

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crippled, and left after their tongues had been cut out. Young Littlefield was a brave fellow. They came across him outside the garrison, and called to him to surrender. He refused, so they shot him. Singularly enough, they left his body unmutilated, even extending to the English the privilege of removing the remains, and offering no hostility to those who went for them.

The garrison continued its defence until the savages withdrew. November 6, the savages had entered into a new treaty with the English; but, like a rope of sand, it held to nothing. Eastward, the fire had burned itself out. There were no settlers, no cabins; and in the subsequent depredations the country from Wells to York became the objective of the savages along the Saco and Androscoggin.

The savage episodes that had marked the autumn of 1676 had convinced the Massachusetts government that no reliance could be placed upon any treaty into which the Indians might be induced to enter, or any they might proffer. A winter expedition to the eastward was decided upon. Two hundred men, including sixty Natick Indians, were fitted out. They sailed from Boston in February, under Major Waldron, a day of prayer having been previously observed for the success of the expedition. Arriving at Casco, he had a conference with some Indians; but nothing came of it. This was followed by an unimportant skirmish with the savages, some of whom were killed and a few

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wounded. Waldron kept on to the Kennebec, where he built a fort which he garrisoned with forty men, under Captain Silvanus Davis.¹

Waldron went down to Pemaquid, where he held another conference with the savages, who agreed to bring in their captives for a ransom. Waldron paid a part, whereupon three captives were given up; and the further agreement was entered into that another "parley" should be held in the afternoon, at which the participants were to lay aside their arms. Waldron, suspicious by reason of his knowledge of the Indian character, some grounds having offered to suggest the possibility of intended treachery, went ashore in the afternoon, with five men, carrying the remainder of the agreed upon ransom. He saw under a board the head of a spear, which he at once drew from its covert; and,

¹("Silvanus Davis resided some time at Sheepscot, Maine. He was an officer in the war of 1675, and received a wound from the Indians, as related by Hubbard in his *Account of the Wars with the Eastern Indians in 1675*, p. 41. Hutchinson (ii. 21) says that he was 'the commander of the fort at Casco, where he was taken prisoner and carried to Canada.' He was nominated by Rev. Increase Mather as one of the counsellors in the charter of William and Mary, granted in 1691, and his name was inserted as one of the twenty-eight appointed. There is an account written by him, of the management of the war against the English in the Eastern parts of New England by the Indians, in 3 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, i., 101-112.")

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 78, note.

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advancing toward those who were to take part in the conference, he charged them with a premeditated purpose in this near-by concealment of their weapons. Their artifice being discovered, they attempted to take the spear from him; but he threatened them with instant death if they did not desist, at the same time waving his cap to the ship, as a signal for help. While his soldiers were making the shore with the utmost rapidity, with the aid of his five men he gathered up the goods which were to be used as a ransom, when the savages seized a bundle of guns they had hidden and ran into the woods. Captain Frost, who was one of the five accompanying Waldron, secured one Indian before he could get away, and Lieutenant Nutter got him to the vessel.¹ When the Indians had disappeared Waldron began a search of the locality. He found three guns, with which he at once armed his escort. His soldiers from the ship, having reached the shore, took up the pursuit of the savages; and

¹“Capt. Charles Frost, of Kittery, was with Waldron upon that expedition, and, next to him, a principal actor in it; and, like him, was killed by the Indians afterwards. Mr. Hubbard gives this account of his taking a noted warrior as follows:—
‘Capt. Frost seized an Indian called Megunneway, a notorious rogue, that had been in arms at Connecticut last June, at the falls, and saw that brave and resolute Capt. Turner, when he was slain about Green River; and helped to kill Thomas Brackett at Casco, August last, (1676.) And with the help of Lieut. Nutter, according to the major’s order, carried him aboard their vessel. By this time some of the soldiers were

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before the latter could come at their canoes they shot several. Of those who reached their canoes and had pushed off, they sank one canoe, with five Indians, who were all drowned. On this occasion four Indians were made prisoners, and Waldron captured of their stores a thousand pounds of dried beef, along with some other stuffs. The number of savages in this party was twenty-five, who not only found their treachery anticipated, but paid an unexpectedly high price for their duplicity.

While Belknap is inclined on this occasion to give these savages the benefit of the doubt, the immediate presence of the muskets is sufficiently circumstantial to warrant a verdict of guilty; and the fact that Waldron's men were able to use them on the instant with effect is proof conclusive that the muskets were loaded.

Waldron, returning up the Kennebec, found some grain, some guns, anchors, and boards, which he appropriated. On Arrowsic Island his party shot

got ashore, and instantly, according to their major's command, pursued the enemy towards their canoes. In the chase, several of the enemy were slain, whose bodies these soldiers found at their return, to the number of seven; amongst whom was Mattahando, the sagamore, with an old powwow, to whom the Devil had revealed, as sometimes he did to Saul, that on the same day he should be with him; for he had a little before told the Indians, that within two days the English would come and kill them all, which was at the very same time verified upon himself.'"

Drake's *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., pp. 109, 110.

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two savages. One of the Indians on the vessel, getting fractious, was despatched. With those at Pemaquid, the number of savages killed on this expedition was thirteen.¹ On March 11 they were again in Boston, bringing home every man safely. Coming down the Kennebec they recovered the bones of Captain Lake, "which they found entire,"² in the neighborhood of the Fort Lake massacre.

With this expedition of Waldron the remaining days were those only of anxious suspense as to where the savages would strike their first blow with the coming of spring. For this reason the Massachusetts government and the towns most in jeopardy maintained a constant watch, not only as a matter of defence, but, as well, of offence. The hatred of the Mohawks for the Abenake and the nations of the adjacent south has been reverted to, as well as the fear of the eastern tribes of invasion by the Mohawks. Between these latter and the English the relations were those of peace and amity. The English were inclined to enlist their services; and after the Puritan theologists had settled the propriety of entering into a league with the heathen³

¹ Wheeler, *History of Brunswick*, p. 50.

Williamson, *History of Maine*, vol. i., pp. 545, 546.

This was the last engagement with the savages in this vicinity, though peace was not declared until April 12, 1678.

² Hubbard, p. 79.

³ Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 80.

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the Massachusetts Colony despatched Messrs. Pynchon, of Springfield, and Richards, of Hartford, into the Mohawk country.

So far as promises went, the ambassadors to the Hudson River "Amorites" were successful. The Mohawks entered into the matter with evident zest, pledging themselves to engage in the quarrel to the extent of their ability.¹ Some of the Mohawks were on hand as early as March, and the first Indians to take the alarm were those about the Amoskeag Falls. A son of Wonnalancet had been out hunting. He was hailed by a party of savages across the river, whose language was strange and, to him, uninterpretable. He took to his heels, and a volley of bullets whistled about his ears, at which he ran the faster. After this, they haunted the Cocheco woods until Major Waldron sent out a party of eight Indians, under Blind Will, to bring him some news of the strangers. His messengers were surprised by the Mohawks. Blind Will was dragged into the recesses of the woods by the hair of his head, and, being badly wounded, died, unattended, in the locality of Blind Will's Neck, a spur of land made by the coming together of the Cocheco and Isinglass Rivers. Two of the New Hampshire Indians got away. This destruction of Blind Will was premeditated on the part of Waldron, if one accepts Belknap's version of the

¹Hubbard, *History*, p. 629.

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matter,¹ although he qualifies his position somewhat.

The advent of the Mohawks had no effect upon the eastern savages. It prevented nothing, and it may be regarded as lending to the vindictiveness of the Abenake a deeper ruddiness.

Over on the Kennebec River, after the snow had gone, the garrison began to send out parties to find and bury the victims of the savage incursions of the previous year. One party was ambushed.² After

¹“This fellow was judged to be a secret enemy to the English, though he pretended much friendship and respect; so that it was impossible to have punished him, without provoking the other neighboring Indians, with whom he lived in amity, and of whose fidelity there was no suspicion. (Hubbard's *Hist.*, 650.) It was first thought a fortunate circumstance that he was killed in this manner; but the consequence proved it to be otherwise; for two of those who were taken with him, escaping, reported that the Mohawks threatened destruction to all Indians in these parts without distinction. (*MS. Journal.*) So that those who lived in subjection to the English grew jealous of their sincerity, and imagined, not without very plausible ground, that the Mohawks had been persuaded or hired to engage in the war, on purpose to destroy them; since they never actually exercised their fury upon those Indians who were in hostility with the English, but only upon those who were in friendship with them; and this only in such a degree as to irritate, rather than to weaken or distress them.”

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 80.

In this particular Belknap is certainly frank, and puts the English in no enviable light.

²Hubbard, *History*, p. 630.

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that the garrison was recalled to Piscataqua, to which place Captain Swaine led his fifty men and ten Naticks to the relief of the settlers, who, scattered from Dover to Wells, had again begun to feel the terrors wrought by prowling and savage incendiaries. Rawling's house was attacked, and one woman, who was captured, escaped, and, getting safely into Cocheco, gave definite information as to the location of the Indians. Three parties at once went out to hunt the savages and to ambush the trails the savages were most likely to traverse. It was, however, a futile effort, as the English were so eager to punish the enemy that a premature volley put the Indians to flight before the ambuscade was fairly reached.

In April of this year (1677) the savages made their first appearance in the neighborhood of York. The village was on York River, on the eastern side. It was a considerable settlement. The settlers had begun to work on their lands, which in some instances were three miles from the settlement. These cultivable fields were hemmed in by dense forests, where the savage might lurk undiscovered for weeks perhaps. They afforded coverts and hiding-places innumerable. The settlers, going to their labor or working their lands, apparently had no fear of savage assault, and took no precautions against surprise. The first intimation of the presence of the Indians was the killing of seven men as they wrought on their planting-lands. Making a

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detour past Wells and Berwick, where the settlers were on the outlook, the Indians kept on to York; and seven lives had paid the penalty of indifference to danger.

York was startled into taking instant measures for her protection. She kept her men at home — a course of action which emboldened the Indians to ravage Wells at their leisure. A few days after the murders at York the savages began to kill and burn at Wells. The fort was occupied by a small body of soldiers, under Lieutenant Swett. As a patrol for the town, it was deficient in numbers. In the outlying neighborhoods three of the English were killed; and during this month repeated attacks were made on the fort, as well as elsewhere about the town. John Weld and Benjamin Storer were killed April 12. The latter was a brother of Lieutenant Joseph Storer. Weld's identity is indefinite. He was undoubtedly a newcomer in the place.

The Indians infested Wells so that no one was safe outside the garrison; yet the settlers, hardened to danger, were so indifferent to perils they were wont to go out after game for the common larder. At the Wells settlement the houses were all on the upper side of the road, while the corn-fields were in plain sight on the lower; and, on the marshes, the view was widely extensive. They could pursue their sport, before the grass had grown, with a fair degree of safety, especially when the tide was at flood.

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About the time Storer and Weld were slain a man and a boy were out after ducks. The spring flights were coming up from the south; the flights were numerous and the birds abundant. The man was on his knees adjusting his flint. The boy discovered two savages creeping stealthily upon them, and, giving the alarm, the man was instantly on his feet. Pointing his gun at the savages, he cried, "Ah! you rogues, I've been looking for you!" The Indians took to their heels. So the settlers were not only foolhardy in their bravery, but as quick of wit.

At the same time Lieutenant Swett saw an Indian sauntering across the open, and, sending out eleven men to cover the vicinity, they took too wide a circle from the fort and two were shot, while another got a mortal wound. He at once despatched a larger force, who exacted a double reprisal, killing six of the savages. One of the soldiers was an Irishman, and, coming upon the Indians, he shouted, "Here they be, bedad! Here they be!" Through this Hibernian exuberance the Indians took the alarm and scattered like a covey of quail. The Indian was a decoy, and with the first party the ruse was fairly successful.

After the three days' attack (May 13-16, 1677) upon Black Point, taking to their canoes, some of the Indians went to the eastward and some kept down the shore toward York. It was Sunday, and a band of twenty savages, under Simon, surprised

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six friendly Indians who were in a drunken sleep in the edge of the Portsmouth woods. Through the day they hovered about the rim of the settlement, though the people were at church, apparently content to watch the English from the woodland shadows. That night they paddled their canoes across Long Reach to Kittery, where they killed some sheep, and then laid their course for Wells. Afraid of the Mohawks, possibly, they let their prisoners have their liberty; but four men were killed, shortly after, in the vicinity of North Hill.

After this, forty English and two hundred Naticks, under Captain Benjamin Swett, of Hampton, and Lieutenant Richardson, were started for Ticonic, on the Kennebec River. Their vessels anchored at Black Point. Informed that some Indians had been seen in the neighborhood, they debarked and, going out to find the savages, were ambushed. The savages deployed in three bands. Swett divided his men and advanced to meet the enemy, who retreated until the English were nearly two miles from the fort, when they turned and drove the English back, killing Swett almost under the fort walls.

While Mugg's death had abruptly ended the attack on Black Point, the ever alert savages took their revenge at Scarborough the following month, when a considerable force of English, having been sent to that place — at that time the frontier of the

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eastern settlements — fell into an ambush and were almost annihilated.

In the spring of 1678 Major Shapleigh, of Kittery, and Captain Champernoon¹ and Mr. Fryer, of Portsmouth, went to Casco as commissioners, where a formal Treaty of Peace² was entered into with Squando and the other sachems, where the captives were delivered to the English.

With these events the depredations of the savages incident to King Philip's War may be said to have

¹ Francis Champernoon, who was, in 1684, appointed a counsellor. He is reputed to have been a cousin of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. He lived at Kittery, and died about the year 1686. A cairn of rough stones shows his burial-place.

² "It was stipulated in the treaty that the inhabitants should return to their deserted settlements, on condition of paying one peck of corn annually for each family, by way of acknowledgment to the Indians for the possession of their lands, and one bushel to Major Pendleton, who was a great proprietor. (Brian Pendleton was born about 1599. Came early to New England, residing at Watertown, Mass. Was admitted a freeman, 1634; deputy, or representative from 1636 to 1647-8. He was a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 1646, and principal military officer in the place. He removed to Portsmouth before 1654. Was deputy of that town to the Court at Boston, 1654, 1658, 1660-1 and 1663. In 1658 he bought land at the mouth of the Saco River, and removing thither in 1665, returned to Portsmouth, 1676. He was appointed Counsellor under Pres. Danforth, 1680, in which, or the following year, he died.) Thus an end was put to a tedious and distressing war, which had subsisted three years. The terms of the peace were disgraceful, but not un-

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closed. The results were discouraging. Maine, east of Scarborough, had been depopulated. Falmouth was a scene of ruin. Over on Cape Elizabeth, along the shore trail, were abandoned farms, and the once thrifty settlers had been killed or had moved to more peaceful scenes. Robert Jordan, who married John Winter's Sarah, and who had absorbed the fair lands that stretched from the Scarborough marshes to Casco River, had left them to the usage of nature.¹ He never returned to

just, considering the former irregular conduct of many of the eastern settlers, and the native propriety of the Indians in the soil. Certainly they were now masters of it, (by conquest, at least, if not by original occupancy;) and it was entirely at their option whether the English should return to their habitations or not."

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 83.

This is in contradistinction to the attitude of the Massachusetts colonists on this subject.

¹Robert Jordan, who was settled as an Episcopal minister at Richmond's Island, and who became a son-in-law to John Winter, the factor of Edward Trelawney at that place, was "one of the most prominent and influential gentlemen in the early annals of western Maine. The name is quite common in Great Britain; it exists in Ireland, Wales and several counties in England, as it is written here; and there are also families who spell it Jordaine, Jordayne, Jorden, Jordin, and Jordan. The Jordan who first settled in Wales was of Anglo-Norman origin, one of the companions of Mertine de Tours in the time of the conquest. It is probable that Rev. Robert Jordan came from Dorsetshire or Somersetshire, the hive from which so many of our settlers came; there the name is quite

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the scene of his early pastorate, though, under the Andros interest, a peace brooded for thirteen years, almost, during which time these waste places were made again to bloom, and from newly thatched

common. A Robert Jordan married a Cokers in Blandford, County of Dorset, and had Robert Jordan, who became a merchant in Melcomb, also of Dorsetshire, and married it is supposed, into the Fitzpen or Phippen family; their coat of arms was nine daggers on a shield, a lion rampant in the center, &c. The Dorsetshire and Somersetshire families have on their shields a lion rampant; the Wiltshire family have a bent arm holding a dagger. The residence of Jordan here, may have attracted the Phippens to the same place. Mr. Jordan was born in 1611, the precise time of his coming over we do not know; he was here in 1640; he was then a surety for T. Purchas, at which time he was twenty-nine years old. In 1641 he was one of the referees between Winter and Cleeves, from which we infer he was not then married to Winter's daughter. He probably came in one of Mr. Trelawney's regular traders to Richmond's Island; the bark Richmond came in 1639, the Hercules in 1641, the Margery in 1642, and perhaps before. All his sons were born before 1664. His wife survived him and was living at Newcastle in Portsmouth harbor in 1686. Edward Godfrey, the first settler of York and sometime governor of the western part of the state, and who was long associated with Jordan as a magistrate, speaks of him in a letter to the government at home, March 14, 1660, as having long experience in the country, 'equal with any in Boston,' and adds, 'an orthodox devine for the church of England, and of great parts and estate.'

"Of his six sons, John was appointed by Governor Andros in 1680, a special justice for Pemaquid, although he was then

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cabin-roofs the smoke spun away on the mystery of the winds until the ambitions of Louis xiv. and the misfortunes of the exiled James II. should again kindle the hatred of the Norridgewocks and Taratines into another destructive warfare against the English.

residing at Richmond's Island, for Andros addressed a letter to him September 15, 1680, as follows: 'To Justice Jordain att Richmond Island neare Casco Bay.' Robert, the second son, in a deed dated December 18, 1695, to Robert Elliott, styles himself of Great Island, Newcastle. In a deed November 12, 1685, he and his wife Eliza, join in a conveyance and call themselves of Cape Elizabeth; he probably remained here till the second Indian war, and then left not to return.

"The family of Dominicus, third son of Robert, is the only one, so far as I have been able to ascertain, who remained on the soil of his forefathers; his descendants still continue to cultivate the paternal acres. His great grandson, Dominicus, mentioned in the text as 'Old Stuff,' and living in 1831, died in 1834, at the age of ninety-four, having had a family of ten children, five sons and five daughters, all of whom lived to maturity. His wife was Susanna Simonton."

Willis's note to his *History of Portland*, pp. 234, 235.

The author, on the paternal side, is a direct descendant of Robert Jordan.

ST. CASTIN'S WAR

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THE causes of this sanguinary conflict of the New England settlers with the Abenake tribes, which became known as King William's, or St. Castin's, War, had their rise in the religious dissensions that prevailed in the Mother Country between the Protestants and the Catholics in the effort of the former to rid themselves of the popish domination.

James II. came to the English throne February 6, 1685. Three years later, December 11, 1688, he had abdicated, and was incidentally, if not actually, banished from the realm. His downfall was occasioned by his rigid adherence to the policy of persecution of the English Protestants, in which he was encouraged by the Church of Rome.

When James II. stepped down from the dais in the English throne-room William III. and Mary, as it were, passed him on their way to the seat the former had just vacated. The crowning of William III. and Queen Mary was consummated by the convention of Parliament, February 13, 1689, and it was in this year that war between England and France was declared, once Louis XIV. had taken up the cause of the exiled Stuart, who, upon the accession of William, had found asylum in Jesuit-ridden France. This war was at once extended to

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the New England Colonies, which resulted in the destruction of Pemaquid by D'Iberville, and a series of bacchanalian butcheries that extended from the Kennebec River to the Hudson until the Peace of Ryswick (1697), which paved the way for the dispossession of the aborigine and his annihilation south of the Canada line, when the fastnesses of the Maine wilderness were to be turned over to the English as the heritage of a better civilization.

Louis XIV. had conceived the scheme of driving the English from North America. It was a dream of power, and of a new empire beyond the seas, that dazzled even his subjects. Beyond Canada was the open door. The threshold was an imaginary one that reached from the Atlantic to the Pacific,—an unoccupied wilderness of woods, with here and there, along the southern trend of the Gulf of Maine, a fringe of settlements. Never was a wilder or more idiotic enterprise; for while Canada boasted but twelve thousand colonists, south of the Penobscot the English could show two hundred fifty thousand, while the Hudson Bay country and a considerable part of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia floated the banner of St. George. Along the seaboard the English trail stopped only at the palm-groves of Florida.

The work was to begin near the French base of supplies. Newfoundland and Nova Scotia were to be purged of the English, after which the French were to swoop down upon Boston and New York

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by sea and land. Once the hand of the Canadian invader was upon his musket there was to be no turning back. Louis XIV. was not of a geographical turn of mind as to the extent of the country he had set out to conquer. Numbers were of no importance to him. The distance between salient points open to attack offered no obstacle to his magnificent optimism. The perils and the infinite hardships he was imposing upon those who were to go down in the inevitable disaster of defeat had no weight against his ambition.

He knew the English were amassing fortunes from the fur trade, especially in that section of the country about Hudson Bay, which the English reached by way of the Hudson overland, and the northern seas. The fisheries of Newfoundland were riches indeed, and it was in the hardihood that came with the adventurous life afforded in this particular pursuit that England was building up the material for her future navy. He looked with envious eye upon the prosperous colonies of Virginia, the Carolinas, and the numerous towns that were absorbing the wild lands of Massachusetts and Connecticut. As the French king revolved these things in his mind he dreamed, and in his dream he saw himself conquering on the land rather than the sea; for on the latter the English had the larger prestige.

So he wrought his air-castles, casting about for the man to whom this great mission of building

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the new empire in the West could be entrusted; and he was building better than he knew.

Denonville was governor of New France, but he was not the man for this important enterprise. He was recalled. The French occupancy has already been touched upon — too lightly perhaps — in the story of these wars with the Indians, which left the reader at the restoration of Count de Frontenac to the governorship of New France. Frontenac was a gallant gentleman; imperious, yet genial and kindly; hot-headed to recklessness, yet possessed of an indomitable courage and bulldog tenacity of purpose. He was a rare good servant of the king, because he was obedient. He undertook enthusiastically the task his royal master had imposed upon him. King and man went over the ground together, and then when Frontenac had arrived at Montreal he set about the earliest possible fulfilment of this new labor by sending, in March, 1685, Chevalier de Troyes, with eighty-two men, to subdue the three English forts that held the key to the Hudson Bay country.

To recapitulate, a survey of the political interests controlling the lands adjacent to New France is necessary. These lands, which stretched out from the Penobscot River as far as Nova Scotia, had been by the Treaty of Breda ceded to France. In exchange, France had given to the English the Island of St. Christopher. On the Penobscot was the Parish of St. Famille, the ancient Pentagoët of

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Allerton, and later of D'Aunay. When the Carignans-Salières were disbanded Baron de St. Castin came hither with Madockawando,¹ who had been to Quebec with his furs; and, taking one of Madockawando's daughters to wife, he became the tutelary lord of the Tarratines. Hutchinson says, "Having several of their women besides a daughter of Madockawando, for his wife."² This is to be doubted, although the English annalists were not over-particular with the character of St. Castin, which will compare very well with those of some of his Puritan detractors. St. Castin, by the English, was the best hated Frenchman of his time — especially following Andros's piratical excursion of 1688 to Pentagoët.

The lands granted by the English Crown to the

¹A distinguished chief of the Penobscots or Tarratines. He was the adopted son of Assaminasqua. He is believed to have ceded the lands in the southern part of Knox County.

Douglas-Lithgow, *Dictionary of American Indian Names*.

He was an active ally of the French, and accompanied them on many of their hostile excursions. After the marriage of St. Castin to one of his daughters he seems to have given up to the latter the control of the Tarratines. He is supposed to have died about 1698.

Drake says, in a note, "A good deal has been said and written about Mons. Casteins, but generally without conveying much information."

Drake's *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., p. 104.

Mémoires de l'Amérique par Lahontan, vol. ii., pp. 29, 30.

²Hutchinson, *Coll. Papers*, p. 548.

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Duke of York — who became the second James of England — overlapped the domain of St. Castin. York asserted his rights under his patent to the entire territory west of the St. Croix River. He caused a stout fort to be erected at Pemaquid, where he stationed a garrison.

In 1686 a ship from Piscataqua landed a small cargo of wines at Pentagoët. York's agents at Pemaquid, Messrs. Palmer and West, sailed around into the Penobscot. They seized the wines as contraband. Ultimately they were returned, but the sting of this English interference remained, and possibly was not without its influence in arousing St. Castin to throw his scruples to the winds, so far as the welfare of the meddling English were concerned, once his Indians had taken to the war-path.

A new line of demarcation between the Duke of York and St. Castin was established by another survey following the limits designated in York's patent, and St. Castin found himself, from the English point of view, on English territory. This was followed, in the spring of 1688, by Andros taking a voyage to Pentagoët on the *Rose*. St. Castin, getting word of Andros's coming, got away; so the curious, cupidous Englishman found St. Castin's fort deserted. There was none to do him honor, so he consoled himself with a gathering together of St. Castin's movable property, which he had conveyed to the frigate, and then sailed away to Pemaquid. This intrusion St. Castin considered un-

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pardonable, and he never forgave the English for it. If St. Castin desired any pretense for engaging in later assaults upon the English settlements, he undoubtedly considered this provocation sufficient.¹

In reviewing the activities of St. Castin in these savage incursions, Willis applies to him the epithet "cruel." It is a question if he were more so than the ancestors for whom Willis wrote. There were undoubtedly provocations on both sides, but the English were the first aggressors. Fairness compels that conclusion.

At this time there was at St. Famille a virulent Jesuit named Thury, and, if his later complaints to the powers at Quebec stand for anything, they most emphatically show that St. Castin was not so actively inclined against the English as the Jesuits would have him, which fact seems to have been overlooked by those who have essayed a relation of the events which followed the appearance of the Indians at North Yarmouth in August of 1688.

The savages were not without their bill of complaint; for they set out that not only the corn promised by the settlers in the treaty of 1678 had been kept back, but that the English had spoiled their fishery by the use of seines; their corn-fields had been devoured by English cattle; their lands at Pemaquid had been sequestered by an English patent without their consent; while, in trade, they

¹ Hutchinson, *Coll. Papers*, p. 596.

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had been the objects of fraud, if not of downright robbery.

These specifications were sufficient upon which to go to trial, be the evidence what it might. So they had taken the musket and the torch as their umpire. The raid on the three forts in the Hudson Bay territory was successful, and the fleur-de-lis had supplanted St. George and the dragon. The British domination had been broken. These eighty-two men had taken not only thirty thousand dollars' worth of peltries, but a very considerable amount of war material and stores. While these operations were apparently of no interest to the New England settlers, and possibly outside their knowledge, they must be regarded as the initial steps in the ultimate conflict.

In this movement upon the English interest at Hudson Bay, D'Iberville was the hero. He fought the garrison of Fort Monsipi — at the southern extremity of Hudson Bay — in the dark, single-handed, until the soldiers under the direction of De Troyes had battered down the stout door of the fort; and then they went on to Fort Rupert, where they found an English war-ship, the task of capturing which was entrusted to D'Iberville. After a sharp fight the ship was taken; in its cabin D'Iberville found the governor of Hudson Bay. Fort Rupert was captured by De Troyes. From this second fort they went to the last, Fort Kichichouimi, which surrendered after an hour's assault.

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This D'Iberville was the man to whom Captain Chubb, of Fort William Henry, in mid-August of 1696, was to surrender that magnificent fortification. For that reason a glance has been bestowed upon the movement upon the three English defences on Hudson Bay.

The plan for the subjection of the English colonies in North America had its inception in the brain of Denonville. He sent his second in command in New France, Callières, to Court, who laid before the king the appeal for troops, money, and two ships of war, with which he would, with a swift blow, take the English by surprise. The plan was accepted, with some modification. It was at this stage that Frontenac was instructed in the part he was to play in the tragedy of conquest.¹ Louis XIV. was at the apex of his power. Nothing seemed impossible to him. It was one thing to flatter himself that he could with a few hundred men drive thousands of sturdy Englishmen from their homes, but quite another to do it. In his enthusiasm he made the most generous promises, none of which were ever fulfilled. As Parkman says, "The atrocity of the plan is matched by its folly."

Frontenac, in Canada, in 1690, proceeded to put his plan for the invasion of the English territory into active operation. He was to arrange for a succession of savagely rapid blows. He made up three

¹ Parkman, *Frontenac and New France*, p. 196.

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war-parties. The men were chosen for their hardihood and knowledge of woodcraft. One party was rendezvoused at Quebec; one, at Montreal; and another, at Three Rivers. The first party was to strike the English along the Maine border; the second was to devastate Albany and the Hudson River Valley; the third was to operate against the settlements of New Hampshire. The Montreal party was first despatched, two hundred ten armed men, of whom ninety-six were Iroquois from the St. Louis and Montreal missions. The French, comprising the contingent with the savages, were mostly *coureurs du bois*, under D'Ailleboust de Mantet and Le Moyne de Sainte-Hélène. D'Iberville was of the party, as well.¹

It was mid-winter of 1689-90. They were moving over the ice-fields of the St. Lawrence. Albany was their objective-point. Leaving them to traverse the wastes of snow between Montreal and the Hudson, a glimpse nearer home will afford interest.

¹“*Relation de Monseignat, 1689-90.* There is a translation of this valuable paper in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, ix. 462. The party, according to three of their number, consisted at first of 160 French and 140 Christian Indians, but was reduced by sickness and desertion to 250 in all. *Examination of three French prisoners taken by y^e Maquas, (Mohawks), and brought to Skinnectady, who were examined by Peter Schuyler, Mayor of Albany, Domine Godevridus Dellius, and some of y^e Gentleⁿ. that went from Albany a purpose.*”

Parkman, *Frontenac and New France*, p. 220, note.

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It had been almost thirteen years since the treachery of Waldron and Frost at Cocheco. During all those years the savage had bided his opportunity to glut his thirst for adequate revenge.¹ Even the friendly Pennacooks were ready to listen to the overtures of the Penobscot sachem. The great and kindly Passaconaway was dead, whose dying injunction to his people was to remain at peace with the English. His son, Wonnalancet, obeyed, but there were many uneasy spirits among the Pennacooks, of whom the sachem Hagkins was a leader. It was not difficult for the Pequawkets to induce the Pennacooks to join the hostile confederacy.

The first mutterings of the storm came in 1688. The settlers were getting apprehensive, although Andros was loud in his asseverations that there would be no war. He was inclined to pacific measures with savages, but the settlers doubted their efficacy. The first warning came at North Yarmouth, in the Maine province, where Captain

¹“The inveteracy of the hatred to Major Waldron on account of that transaction, appears from what is related by Mr. Williams in the narrative of his captivity, which happened in 1704. When he was in Canada, a Jesuit discoursing with him on the causes of their wars with New England, ‘justified the Indians in what they did against us; rehearsing some things done by Major Waldron above 30 years ago, and now justly God retaliated them.’”

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 126, note.

Williams, *Narrative*, p. 18.

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Gendal was constructing a stockade on Royall's River. It was in September. He had a small party of soldiers with him. Without warning, seventy or eighty Indians made an attack on the place, but were repulsed after a sharp engagement. Men were killed on both sides. The savages had apparently drawn off. About sundown, Gendal, with his servant, went over the river, and, being ambushed, both were killed.¹

This was the initial outbreak. The same evening John Royall and another were captured, the savages killing this last, while St. Castin ransomed Royall.² After this, the work of establishing garri-

¹In the time of King Philip's War an "*Old Fort*" is located on Parker's Point, but there is no record as to who might have been its occupant. George Felt was here in 1643. He built a stone garrison here. John Cousins came in 1645; and the next year, William Royall. In 1674 Gendal and Seward built a mill at the lower falls, which was known as the *Casco* mill. This mill was destroyed by the Indians in King Philip's War, with the cabins of the settlers. The territory was abandoned. After the Treaty of Casco the settlers returned.

It will be remembered that the Indians began hostilities two years anterior to King William's War; and it was here Captain Gendal was killed (1688); also another settler, Scales by name. The thirty-six families living here at that time made their way to the larger settlements, and the country lapsed into the wilderness; for the savages not only burned the saw- and grist-mills, but all the cabins. Gendal was the first victim. He was the wealthiest and most enterprising of the early North Yarmouth settlers.

²"The Royall who was taken prisoner, was John, son of the

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sons was accelerated.¹ Andros had returned from New York. As an act of mediation, he ordered the release of those Indians who had been arrested. He restored to them their guns, making no condition precedent as to the return of such captives and property as had been taken in reprisal upon the English by them.

The following month, October 20, Andros published a proclamation requiring the savages to bring in their prisoners, and to deliver up for judicial trial such Indians as had been guilty of killing the English. As might have been expected, the savages were open neither to conciliation nor threats. The following month, November, Andros raised a force of seven hundred men for garrison duty. Sixty men were stationed at Falmouth, under Captain George Lockhart; thirty-six men were sent to Pemaquid, under Captain Anthony Brockholst; to these were added two companies of sixty men

first William; his house was used as a garrison by order of Col. Tyng and Judge Stoughton."

Willis, *Portland*, p. 290, note.

¹ One of these forts was erected at Pejepscot (Brunswick) under the command of Captain Anthony Brockholst. A part of Andros's army was garrisoned at this place. The site of this fort was on the present Main Street, near Bow Street.

McKeen, *MS. Lecture*.

Wheeler's *History of Brunswick*, pt. i., p. 51.

Williamson, *History of Maine*, vol. i., p. 590.

Brockholst was later stationed at the fort at Pemaquid.

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each, under Captains Tyng and Minot. Other garrisons were supported, until the active men under arms in the province were five hundred sixty-eight — a force, as Willis says, “sufficient to have protected the entire Maine frontier had they been properly disposed.”

Andros's measures were to bring meager returns, other than some dissensions among his own people. He ordered the forts to be supplied with the necessary stores; but if he had any hopes of avoiding the storm, he was to be grievously disappointed. His arrogance and pig-headedness were to bear a ruddy fruit. The first butcheries of 1689 are recorded in a letter to Major Frost as early as January 23. The descent was made on Saco, where several houses were burned and eight or nine men were killed.¹

¹“Jan. 23, 1689. Major Frost. These are to inform you that Lieut. Fletcher came to Wells, and brought two wounded men to Wells, and the Indians has killed yesterday eight or nine men at Saco, who were looking for horses to go along after the Indians, but now are disappointed and cut off, and they judge there was sixty or seventy Indians that fought the English, and they have burnt several houses and destroyed a deal of their corn, and we judge now is the time to send some of the army east to Saco. The people are not able to bury their dead without help; and this day, just as they came away, they heard several guns go off, and know not what mischief is done. Pray give York notice forthwith.

“To Major Charles Frost, or the Chief Commander of the Army.

SAMUEL WHEELRIGHT.

JOSEPH STORER.

JOHN WHEELRIGHT.”

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In April, 1689, Andros found his authority impaired by a "popular excitement."¹ His troops mutinied at Pemaquid, so that only eighteen men were left to garrison it; and it soon fell into the

¹Sir Edmund Andros was born in London, Dec. 6, 1637. He entered the army, and through the Duke of York was made governor of the duke's territories in America. He entered upon his governorship at New York, October 31, 1674. He not only assumed the civil functions of his office, but, as well, undertook the supervision of the moral and religious status of the colonies. He made a vain attempt to extend his authority over Connecticut.

In February, 1685, the Duke of York became James II., and Andros was made Governor of New England. He made his entry under his new power into Boston, Dec. 20, 1686, and signalized his domination of affairs by turning out many of the old officers of the government, to inaugurate a "practical despotism." He assumed the control of the affairs of Rhode Island, January 12, 1687; and on the thirteenth day of that same month, those of Connecticut. Upon the accession of the Prince of Orange to the English throne Boston rebelled against his authority, April 18, 1689, and Andros was there arrested and put in jail. He was sent to England in February of the following year, by command of William III. He was afterward governor of Virginia, and subsequently became governor of Guernsey, 1704 to 1706. He died in London, February, 1714, at the age of eighty-two.

Drake, *History of Boston*, vol. i., p. 486.

Governors of Massachusetts Bay, pp. 403-422.

Elliott, *New England History*, vol. i., p. 380.

Barry, *History of Massachusetts*, vol. i., pp. 500-508.

Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts*, vol. i., p. 349.

Andros's Council (Boston) and some other "obnoxious

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hands of the savages. The fort at Newcastle was deserted by its garrison. At Falmouth the soldiers seized the commander, Captain Lockhart, after which they withdrew from the fort.¹

Wells was best provided against the inroads of the savages; for as Bourne says, "No other town was so well provided with houses of refuge as Wells." This was undoubtedly due to the sagacity of the Storers and Wheelrights. In this town were seven or eight garrisons, some of them stoutly built and convenient for those who were likely to seek their shelter; nor were they uncalled for. Wells was to bear the brunt of the Indian attacks after the capture of Fort Andros at Pejepscot and the destruction of Fort Loyal (1690), and was to be the eastern frontier of the English occupation of these lands of western Maine for several years. These

persons" (about fifty in all), were arrested April 18, 1689. May 22, fifty-two Massachusetts towns met in convention at Boston; and, two days later, Governor Bradstreet and the magistrates who had been chosen in 1686 resumed the reins of government in that colony.

Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts*, vol. i., pp. 333, 334.

¹ Willis, p. 291, note.

"*Hutchinson Papers*, 1 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 3d ser., p. 85. Some suspicions had been entertained by government that Capt. Lockhart had communicated with the enemy, but this was repelled by a letter from Falmouth, signed by A. Brackett and several others, April 26, 1689, in which they say that he conducted with skill and fidelity while at Falmouth."

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houses of refuge were similar in their construction, and built after a general pattern. They were mostly of two stories, the upper somewhat overhanging the lower. They afforded opportunity for using the musket or the fire-pail upon the assailant who attempted to force the entrance or fire the building, there being in the floor of the overhanging story port-holes conveniently spaced for this purpose. The walls were pierced with port-holes at regular intervals, both for observation and musketry. A flanker, or watch-tower, was not unusual at the opposite corners, and not a few were constructed with such projections as would enable the inmates to see every foot of the outside walls of the building, from which the musket could be directed against the savage attack. Some were ordinary dwellings, enclosed by a stout palisade, which was made more secure against assault by the so-called flankarts at the corners, the port-holes of which swept the palisades in all directions. These were built to be used as sentinel-towers, and were effective, as they afforded a wider view of the adjoining country.

Other garrisons were constructed of timbers hewn square, which were laid up log-house fashion, the windows of which were heavily shuttered; these were utilized as port-holes as well. The doors were of stout oaken plank — and barred from the interior. These garrison-houses were generally of oak, being less inflammable, offering a greater resistance to the musket-ball and the hatchet. They

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were roomy and of generous proportions. To the weapons of the time they might be regarded as fairly impregnable to the devices of the savage, unless from the torch. One finds an occasional relic of those days of barbarous warfare, when the silent hours from sunset to dawn were tremulous with treachery and peril.¹

In Wells the most important defence of this character was that of Joseph Storer. It was of most ample proportions, and was located on a slope of open uplands. It had a wide outlook,—the essential of safety in those days,—and was inclosed by an extensive palisade. Outside were the cabins occupied by the several families, who, at a moment's warning, could reach the garrison gate, did the savages appear in the vicinity; and the savages were unable to capture them except by treachery or negligence on the part of the inmates.

Larrabee's was an important garrison, and there were many others; for the house of the Wells settler

¹In the ancient town of York, which nestles against the easterly edge of old Kittery, are two old garrison-houses. One is known as the Junkins garrison, which is already much dilapidated. The other is the McIntire garrison, which is in a perfect state of preservation, and occupied by the descendant of the original builder. These are located in what is locally known as the old Scotland parish; for it was in this quarter of the town, in earliest days, that a little party of Scotch Covenanters came from over seas to make their home. Both these garrison-houses were upon several occasions the objects of savage attack.

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was his castle. Previous days of trial, suspense, and sudden butchery had taught the Wells settler that something better than vigilance was to be put between his wife and children and the Indian; for, in this nomad warfare, everything was in favor of the savage prowler. He was a coward by day, but a brave braggart when the darkness of the night had thrown its mystery over his slumbering victims.

It was almost a month after the massacre at Saco when D'Ailleboust called his soldiers into council amid the frozen silences of Lake Champlain. He had been five days climbing the St. Lawrence and the Richelieu. It was here amid these solitudes the first word was to be given. His savages were ignorant of his plans or his destination. It was here, answering to their demand, the French commander revealed his secret in a single word,—“Albany.”

Coming to the Hudson, they had arrived at the parting of the ways. One trail led to Albany; the other, to Schenectady. They had used up twenty-two days in a journey that had brought them within two hours' march of ancient Corlaer,¹ the same upon which, a quarter of a century before, the adventurous Marquis de Tracy, with his two hun-

¹“The French called Schenectady Corlaer, or Corlar, from Van Curler, its founder. Its treatment at their hands was ill-deserved, as its inhabitants, and notably Van Curler himself,

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dred soldiers, stumbled of a mid-winter's evening. The snow lay as deep and the woods bore the same spectral guise of death, within whose rime of frost was the healing of the evergreens.

On the windy ridges behind them were the gray, leafless, hardwood forests; but in the sheltered hollow where for the last time they halted, amid the falling shadows of that late afternoon of February 8, the winds had gone to sleep. They had come a long way through a strange and inhospitable wilderness, to stumble upon an isolate Iroquois wigwam. In it were four squaws. In its center glowed a welcoming blaze. It was here Le Grand Agnié,¹ the Mohawk sachem of the Sault St. Louis (known to the Dutch as "Kryn"), urged the Indian allies to deeds of butchery, reminding them of the debt of blood the English owed them. Schenectady was before them. Gignières had returned from his reconnaissance of the situation. Schenectady was defenceless. The attack had been planned for two o'clock in the morning; but the French and Indians were weary of waiting for that hour through the stinging cold of the winter night. As a precautionary measure, they had been denied their usual fires;

had from the earliest times been the protectors of French captives among the Mohawks. Leisler says that only one-sixth of the inhabitants escaped unhurt."

Parkman, *Frontenac and New France*, p. 227, note.

¹*Ibid*, p. 221.

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and rather than stand about shivering half-freezing in the snow, they clamored to be allowed to go on to the old Dutch town, where they would soon have plenty of light, heat, and warmth from its blazing cabins.

Pressing the affrighted squaws into their service as guides, they got over the Mohawk River on the ice, and then began another toilsome effort through the snowy deeps of the valley, with the storm beating upon their backs, as if to urge them more rapidly upon their destructive errand against the snow-beleaguered palisades which loomed across their path unexpectedly an hour before midnight.

They were in a most perilous situation; for, as they afterward admitted, had they been met by a handful of determined men they could not have withstood them.¹ It was a pity that only the stolid stare of a wooden gate looked out upon that murderous company; but Schenectady was asleep under the voiceless lullaby of the soft-falling snow. Schenectady was a frontier post. Southeastward was Albany, fifteen miles away. Westward was the Mohawk wilderness. The interior of the palisade, which Parkman describes as "oblong in form," was approached by two gates: one from the direction of Albany; the other faced the Mohawk country. Near the Albany entrance was a block-house, which was garrisoned by Lieutenant Tal-

¹Colden, p. 114 (edition of 1747).

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mage and eight or nine Connecticut soldiers. In the town at that time were some thirty friendly Mohawks, visiting after their fashion, and enjoying the warmth and good cheer of the Dutch settlers, with whom they seem never to have had any trouble — possibly because the Dutch were not so chary as the English of supplying the Indians with guns and ammunition.¹

Schenectady was wholly a Dutch settlement. Affairs in England had affected the Dutch interest in New York, and there was, even in this isolated village, much confusion and diversity of opinion.

Fort William was in the hands of Leisler, who had undertaken to wrest the control of colonial affairs from the interests of Peter Schuyler, who controlled Albany, and the Schenectady Dutch were inclined to favor Jacob Leisler. In this political uproar the local magistrate of Schenectady, John Sander Glen,² was for the Albany party from which Lieutenant Talmage took orders. Leisler had carried matters to such a pass that threats to kill Glen had been made; and as for Talmage, he, with the

¹Drake mentions the fact that the Dutch supplied the Indians with these necessities, by which they were able to prolong the war of 1675-76 against the English colonies.

²"Johannes Sander, or Alexander, Glen, was the son of a Scotchman of good family. He was usually known as Captain Sander. The French wrote the name Cendre, which became transformed into Condre, and then into Coudre. In

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magistrate, urged the Dutch burghers to keep a strict guard against hostile invasion. They were unheeded; and, as if to invite disaster, they left their gates wide open. Thus the French found them, with only two snow-capped wooden warders to sound an alarm to the silent houses just within.

A festivity of some sort had been going on that evening, but the lights had been turned out; the revelers had gone to their homes, and while the French waited by their deserted gates the settlers were covering their hearth-fires, or forgetting the dangers of their civilization in the fatal oblivion of sleep. It was midnight, that time when the dead come out of their graves, when the French made their first move. D'Iberville was sent to the Albany gate to make sure none of their prey should escape. The snow was blinding, and he was unable to locate it. Hastening to join the main body of the assailants, now divided into two parties,—one under Sainte-Hélène, and the other under Mantet,—they crossed the drifted threshold of the western entrance in ghostly silence, where they separated, the one to the right, and the other to the left. Skirting the two sides of the village, the leaders met

the old family Bible of the Glens, still preserved at the place named by them Scotia, near Schenectady, is an entry in Dutch recording the 'murders' committed by the French, and the exemption accorded to Alexander Glen on account of services rendered by him and his family to French prisoners."

Parkman, *Frontenac and New France*, p. 227, note.

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at the Albany gate, thus entirely surrounding the hapless sleepers.

The signal broke on the snow-smothered night in a wild war-whoop, and the onslaught began. The savages burst in the doors of the houses with their axes. The killing was on. Men, women, and children fell indiscriminately. The Dutch leaped from the semblant of death into its actuality. A cry of horror under the crushing axe lapsed into the terror of a bloody silence. Some never awoke, but were killed as they slept. At the blockhouse a defence was made; but once the door was broken in, the soldiers had been summarily mustered out, and their dead bodies were soon devoured in the leaping flame of their barrack.¹

One Dutchman, Adam Vrooman, saw his wife shot and his child caught by the heels and brained against a door-post, but he fought so well that he was not killed. Peter Tassemaker, the minister, from whom it was hoped some information might be had, was to be spared; but he shared the fate of the others, and his house was burned. Some made their escape at the eastern gate through the storm, to make their way through the more merciful elements to Albany.

¹“The women bigg with Childe rip'd up, and the Children alive throwne into the flames, and their heads dashed to pieces against the Doors and windows.”—*Schuyler to the Council of Connecticut*, 15 February, 1690.

Parkman, *Frontenac and New France*, p. 224, note.

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In this massacre the number of those killed was sixty. Thirty-eight were men and boys; ten were women; twelve were of tender years.¹ The captives taken in this raid were between eighty and ninety. Not a Mohawk was injured. The carnage lasted more than two hours, after which the marauders posted their sentinels, and the French and Indians not on guard were given opportunity to dispose of themselves as they pleased.

The following morning a small party of French went over the river to where Glen lived, a half-mile away. Here they found a stout house, palisaded and loop-holed and ready to make a desperate defence. Glen had gathered about him his tenants, and, shutting his gates, awaited the approach of the enemy. In a parley over the palisades the French assured him that they meant him no harm, only that he would lay aside his arms and give them entrance. He did so. He went into the village with them, leaving one of the French at his house as a hostage.

He was met at the town gate by D'Iberville and Le Grand Agnié. D'Iberville, opening his coat, drew from an inner pocket a commission, telling Glen he was especially instructed to settle an obli-

¹"List of y^e People kild and destroyed by y^e French of Canida and there Indians at Skinnechtady, in *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, i. 304."

Parkman, *Frontenac and New France*, p. 225, note.

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gation due him from the French. Glen had on several prior occasions interfered with the Mohawks to save the lives of French captives; to whom, not only he, but his wife, had shown great kindness. D'Iberville then conducted him into the presence of the Dutch captives, telling him that not only was his own personal liberty to be unrestrained, but as well that of all his kindred. Glen used his privilege of recalling the ties of relationship to such good purpose that the Indians began to complain that "everybody seemed to be his relation."

Many houses had already been put to the torch. Those remaining were fired, only a few being left. One belonged to Glen. The other was occupied by a wounded French officer, and some three or four more in which possibly Glen had an interest, as he had requested the French to leave them unharmed. By mid-day the fair village of Schenectady was a scene of smoking ruins, from which the French at once withdrew, loaded down with plunder, which they had heaped upon sleds to which the available horses of the place were harnessed — some thirty or forty. With the captives, made up of twenty-seven men and boys, they made their way into the forest,— and this was the inglorious end of the dream of Louis xiv. for the conquest of New York.

Some sixty old men and women were left behind, as the French intimated, to preserve amity with the Mohawks who had joined with Glen in his plea for

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amnesty so far as they were concerned. The French lost in this massacre two men.¹

One man escaped. With the first echoing whoop he had leaped upon his horse and made for the Albany gate. He was shot at and wounded; but, putting spurs to his horse, both floundered through the drifts, until, at daybreak, Simon Schermerhorn had brought the news of Schenectady's fate to Albany.

Immediately the country was aroused, and an armed party was despatched for Schenectady. A party of Mohawks went along, who were to carry the news to their three villages up river. When they came to Schenectady they were stricken with fear of the French. Two days later the alarm reached the Mohawks. Strapping on their snow-shoes, they struck the trail of the French; and, with fifty men from Albany, they followed it like a pack of hungry wolves — a long chase that ended only when the

¹“Many of the authorities on the burning of Schenectady will be found in the *Documentary History of New York*, i. 297-312. One of the most important is a portion of the letter of de Monseignat, comptroller-general of the marine in Canada, to a lady of rank, said to be Madame de Maintenon. One of the best contemporary authorities is a letter of Schuyler and his colleagues to the governor and council of Massachusetts, 15 February, 1690, preserved in the Massachusetts archives, and printed in the third volume of Mr. Whitmore's *Andros Tracts*. La Potherie, Charlevoix, Colden, Smith, and many others give accounts at second-hand.”

Parkman, *Frontenac and New France*, p. 227, note.

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Mohawks had come in sight of Montreal. They came back to Albany with fifteen or twenty of the French, who, one by one, had killed and eaten their horses, ever haunted by the fear that the avengers were on their trail.

The third party left Three Rivers on the twenty-eighth day of January, 1690. Its destination was the New Hampshire border. It was under command of François Hertel. In the party were twenty-four French, twenty Sokoki, and five Algonquins. They were three months threading the mystery of the Maine wilderness. They broke the rim of the woods at Salmon Falls, an English settlement snuggled above the bank of the stream that holds apart the two States of Maine and New Hampshire.

While Hertel is on his way to Salmon Falls one reverts to the treachery of Waldron and Frost, almost thirteen years before; but the savages did not wait for the coming of Hertel to revenge themselves on the New Hampshire settlers. Once hostilities to the eastward were begun, the same influence prevailed to consummate the tragedy at Cocheco on the night of the twenty-seventh of June, 1689, which reminds one of the fate that befell Walter Bagnall, the Richmond's Island trader. At this time there were five garrison-houses in that part of the town which was appurtenant to the falls. On the north side were three,—Waldron's, Otis's, and Heard's. On the south side were two,—Peter Coffin's and that of his son. These

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garrisons were environed by stout timber walls and gates which were made fast with bars and bolts; and it was into these places of refuge from midnight surprise the families of the neighborhood went as the night shut down. No special watch was set, however, and the Indians, who came and went at will, were no doubt aware of this most culpable negligence. So the days went, and so the savages kept to their coming and going, bringing in a few pelts and trading, or visiting — but always with an observant eye. The savages were entertaining designs upon these unsuspecting people, and with every day their diabolical schemes were ripening to a bloody fruition.¹

As the squaws came and went, with a volubility common to their kind they dropped hints of brewing mischief, but in such meaningless ambiguities that the settlers paid little attention to them. While some of the people were far from feeling secure, Waldron, ready enough to question the sincerity of the savage, was inclined to hold the fears of his neighbors lightly — telling them to “go plant their pumpkins,— he would tell them when the Indians would break out.”

On the evening of the tragedy he was reminded that there were more Indians in town than usual; but it only served to bring the curt reply that he

¹ Mather's *Magnalia* (original edition), bk. ii., pp. 64, 65.

Williamson, *History of Maine*, vol. i., p. 610.

Willis, *Portland*, p. 275.

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knew the Indians very well, assuring his informant that there was no danger. It was a subtle plan the savages had preconcerted. Two squaws were to go to each of the garrison-houses with the request that they might be allowed to sleep by the hearth-side. In the night, when the garrison-folk were helpless in their slumber, at a signal from the outside they were to open the doors and garrison gates. The signal was to be a whistle. Once the gates were open, the savages would take advantage of these treacheries to pay off old scores with a vengeance.

On this day the plan was fully matured, the squaws carrying out their part of the plot. A request on their part to lodge for the night by the white man's fireside was not uncommon, and was rarely ever refused. They were successful in all but one instance. They were refused admission into the garrison-house of the younger Coffin. Incredulous of harm or treachery, not even the request of the squaws to be shown how to undo the fastenings of the doors, in case their uninvited guests might wish to leave the house before day-break, aroused the suspicions of the settlers.

Into Waldron's garrison-house went Mesundowit, a neighboring sachem. As he sat at meat with the major he asked his host, "Brother Waldron, what would you do if the strange Indians should come?" The major's rather indifferent reply was that he could assemble a hundred men by lifting his finger. And when the squaws came

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to him with the welcome news that on the morrow a number of Indians were coming to trade with him, and supplemented it with the request that they might lodge for the night by his fire, he consented.

The lights were blown in Coheco village, and the settlers slept. The fateful moment had come. A whistle, as of some belated night-bird, signaled the silent opening of the garrison gates. Like wraiths, the savages stole into the houses; and when they had set guards at the doors the massacre began. At Waldron's they made a silent entrance. One can see their dusky forms feeling their way, softly fingering the rough walls of the interior as they crept along the sanded floor to Waldron's sleeping-apartment. Then came the forcing of the door; then the rush upon the sleeping soldier. Awakened before the savages could get their hands on him, the old man leaped from his bed, and, seizing his sword, he used it with such effect as to drive the Indians before him into the outer room. Returning for a more effective weapon, one of the savages followed him so stealthily that he was able to strike him down for the moment. That moment was enough; for Waldron, in his eighty years, was helpless against the brute strength of the savage. They took him into the hall, and, seating him in one of his chairs, they raised him to the long table,—the same, doubtless, on which they spread out their peltry, which he was to examine and

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price,—and there they asked him the ominous question, “Who shall judge the Indians now?” While he sat there they asked for food, and when they had satisfied their hunger they began to cross out their accounts, one after the other. As they slashed him with their knives in turn, each accompanied his bloody work with the vindictive remark, “I cross out my account!” A savage cuts off a hand and calls for the scales; for when the major bought their beaver-skins he was wont to put his hand on the opposite scale, as a weight, as he weighed them. They cut off his ears and his nose and crammed them into his mouth. Then, spent with loss of blood, and tottering from his chair, one held the major’s sword under him, and he was spitted upon his own weapon. So died Major Waldron, and so the savages, one by one, had settled their accounts. One might imagine that, as he fell, these midnight butchers counted, “One!” for Frost was yet to come to his fate, at the hands possibly of some of these same savages, as he did later. The savages also killed Waldron’s son-in-law, Abraham Lee;¹ but after plundering the premises they took the latter’s daughter captive, with several others, and set the garrison-house on fire.

¹“Abraham Lee was a chymist and probably the first in New Hampshire. He seemed to have made some trial of his skill in 1685, as the records of the Quarter Sessions show that he was indicted for coining that year, but ‘the grand jury having found upon the bill of indictment, *ignoramus*,’ he was

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While they were carrying out their murderous designs in Waldron's house, Elizabeth Heard,¹ with her children, had just come in from Portsmouth. When she got to the garrison she discovered her peril. The children ran; but, overwhelmed with terror, she stumbled to the ground, but got off safely.

The other garrisons shared the same fate as Waldron's. Otis was killed, and his family carried into captivity. Heard was saved by his dog's

discharged, 'paying the fees.' He married Hester Elkins, 21 June, 1686, and she was probably the daughter of Major Waldron named in the text."

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, pp. 127, 128, note.
Vide note on p. 422, *post*.

¹"Elizabeth Heard was the widow of John Heard, and, according to Mather, ii. *Magnalia*, 512, was the 'daughter of Mr. Hull, a reverend minister, formerly living at Pascataqua.' She had five sons, viz. Benjamin, born in 1644; John, born 1659; Joseph, born 1661; Samuel, born 1663; Tristram, born 1667, and five daughters. Tristram was killed by the Indians as will be seen under the year 1723."

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 129, note.

"Elizabeth Heard, with her three sons and a daughter and some others, were returning in the night from Portsmouth. They passed up the river in their boat unperceived by the Indians, who were then in possession of the houses; but suspecting danger by the noise they heard, after they had landed they betook themselves to Waldron's garrison, where they saw lights, which they imagined were set up for direction to those who might be seeking refuge. They knocked and begged earnestly for admission; but no answer being given, a young

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barking as the savages were entering. Elder Wentworth,¹ aroused by the noise, pushed the savages before him out the door and through the gate, and, falling flat, braced his feet against the gate until he

man of the company climbed up the wall, and saw to his inexpressible surprise, an Indian standing in the door of the house, with his gun. The woman was so overcome with fright that she was unable to fly; but begged her children to shift for themselves; and they, with heavy hearts left her. When she had a little recovered, she crawled into some bushes, and lay there till day-light. She then perceived an Indian coming toward her with a pistol in his hand; he looked at her and went away; returning, he looked at her again; and she asked him what he would have; he made no answer but ran yelling to the house, and she saw him no more. She kept her place till the house was burned, and the Indians were gone; and then returning home, found her own house safe. Her preservation in these dangerous circumstances was more remarkable, if (as it is supposed) it was an instance of justice and gratitude in the Indians. For at the time when the four hundred were seized in 1676, a young Indian escaped and took refuge in her house, where she concealed him; in return for which kindness he promised her that he would never kill her, nor any of her family in any future war, and that he would use his influence with the other Indians to the same purpose. This Indian was one of the party who surprised the place, and she was well known to the most of them."

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, pp. 128, 129.

¹"William Wentworth was one of the first settlers of Exeter, and after the breaking up of their combination for government, he removed to Dover, and became a ruling elder in the church there. In 1689, he was remarkably instrumental in saving Heard's garrison.

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had given warning to the people in the house. Two bullets came splintering through the gate, but he was unharmed. Coffin's house was surprised, but the savages were content with looting the house. Here, no one was harmed. Among other plunder at Coffin's, they came across a bag of money, which they made Coffin scatter about the floor, while they entertained themselves by indulging in a hurly-burly scramble to see who could secure the most pieces. Then they went to his son's house, the same who refused the squaws admission. Young Coffin surrendered, and, being taken with his family and that of his father to another house, and left until such time as their captors should return from further plundering, they all escaped.

In this massacre the savages killed twenty-three of the settlers. Twenty-nine were made captive. Of the houses, six were burned, as were the mills. Belknap mentions the preservation of the Heard garrison, but regards that of its owner as more remarkable.

It is somewhat singular that on the day of this raid, Addington, secretary to the government, wrote Waldron of the intention of the savages to do

"After this, he officiated several years as a preacher at Exeter, and other places, and died at a very advanced age at Dover, in 1697, leaving a numerous posterity. From him the several governors of that name are descended. He was a very useful and good man."

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 128, note.

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just what they did.¹ This letter fell into the hands of Waldron's son. Major Henchman, of Chelmsford, had it of a friendly Indian; and through Henchman it got to Governor Bradstreet.² This letter was promptly despatched from Boston by Mr. Weare the previous day; but at Newbury Ferry he was held up an unfortuitous delay, so that the people at Cocheco had no good from it. The Indians took their captives in greater part to Canada, where they were sold to the French.³

The Indians of eastern Maine were Jesuits in so far as their intelligence would allow. Under the domination of Jesuit priests,—whose spiritual teachings to them were hardly more than a ritualistic gibberish, to which they readily responded when it smelled of English blood,—they were instigated by their priestly teachers to glut their hatred of the English heretic upon every pretense and occasion, with the further incentive of a French market for the sale of English scalps and captives. Thus was joined to the spirit of revenge the in-

¹“Several friendly Indians informed the English at Chelmsford of the certainty of an attack upon Dover, and they caused a letter to be despatched in season to have notified the people, but on account of some delay at Newbury Ferry, the benefit of that information was lost.”

Drake, *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., p. 107.

²Simon Bradstreet was governor of the Massachusetts Colony from 1679 to 1686.

³Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 129.

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satiable appetite of the mercenary; which degenerated, under the subtle influence of the French Jesuit, into veritable human piracy.¹

The original impetus that set in motion the conspiracies of Philip had lost its meaning. A perhaps excusable, possibly righteous, resentment had become the glutting of a brutal passion for murder, outrage, and plunder. If Louis xiv. had sampled for himself the dye into which the fabric of his ambition was to be dipped his dream of power would have been haunted by more ghosts than invaded the tent of Richard on Bosworth Field.

Doubtless the *absolvo te* of his Jesuit confessor was sufficient for the French conscience, as it had been for over a century of Rome's ambition for not only the spiritual, but political, supremacy of the world. In August of this year the Massachusetts Colony sent Major Swaine² east, with seven or eight companies. Major Church, with a body of English and Indians from the Plymouth Colony, followed later.³

At Oyster River (now a part of Durham), while these were making their way to the eastward, the

¹ Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 130.

² Jeremiah Swaine, of Reading.

Massachusetts Colonial Records, vol. v., pp. 476, 514.

³ Church landed at Maquoit September 13, to make his approach upon Fort Andros, then in the hands of the Indians. Reaching the fort, Church disposed his force about it to cut off the escape of the savages; but at daybreak he discovered

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savages lurked about the Huckin garrison-house. They had counted the men who made up the fighting force at Huckin's. One morning, as they went to their work in the fields, the Indians cut off their return to the garrison. All were butchered, except one who had got over the stream. Eighteen men were killed. The savages at once attacked the garrison. Its inmates were two boys, one of whom was lame. With the women, they made a brave defence, keeping the Indians at bay until the latter succeeded in firing the garrison-house. With the roof burning over their heads, the boys fought on more desperately. When the savages had offered them their lives they gave up the place. The savages kept their promise with their usual fidelity by killing three or four of the children, one of whom was spitted on a sharpened stake, while the mother was compelled to look. The others, with the two lads who made so resolute a defence, were carried into captivity. One of the boys escaped the day following, and while Captain Garner took to the trail of

that the fort was empty; the savages, warned in season, had made their escape. They found some "small plunder and a bag of corn."

Dexter, *Church's Expedition Against the Eastern Indians*, pp. 50-56.

Cotton Mather describes a fight between Church and the Indians at Pejepscot on this occasion. McKeen discredits Mather's relation.

McKeen, *MS. Lecture*.

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the retreating Indians, he failed to come up with them.

Swaine and Church kept on to the eastward, establishing garrisons at salient points along the frontier. They met with some wandering bands about Saco and Casco, but no engagement of importance repaid their coming. Some of the friendly Indians of Swaine's contingent were sent, under Lieutenant Flagg, to reconnoitre the Winnipiseogee country. Swaine's savages induced Flagg, with two of his men, to leave them to explore the country after their own fashion. These nineteen savages who remained behind in the woods found some of the hostiles, and, remaining with them two nights, while being entertained betrayed to their savage hosts the plans of the English. The hostile Indians then dipped deeper into the New Hampshire wilderness. Swaine's allies, after an absence of eleven days, had returned. Swaine made his way back to Boston, where, in November, his forces were dismissed. Thus, so far as Swaine's part of the enterprise was concerned, ended a futile and inglorious campaign.

Church, who had had much experience in King Philip's War, with his Plymouth soldiers made Falmouth by water, where he was to consult with Captain Davis, who was recommended to him as "a prudent man and well acquainted with the affairs of those parts and is writt unto to advise and inform you all he can."

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The day before Church's arrival the Indians, in considerable force, had appeared on Peak's Island, a spacious strip of wooded country in the harbor-mouth. It was here Church found Waldron's daughter (Mrs. Abraham Lee).¹ He found the Falmouth defences in a most reprehensible condition, and at once set about improving them. With his usual subtlety when it came to dealing with the savages, he had caused his soldiers to keep out of sight as he came up the harbor. Landing his men at night, he got them quietly into the fort and some of the adjacent houses, where they were to hold themselves in readiness for immediate action.

The next morning, before daybreak, he put his force in motion, and, joined by some of the Falmouth men, they filed out of town for a mile or more, where there was a jungle of undergrowth. The savages, under cover of darkness, had shifted their position from the island down the harbor to the upper part (west end) of the Neck, by way of Back Cove. Church's scouts had failed to locate the enemy. He was about going into the town for

¹"He found here Mrs. Lee, a daughter of Major Waldron, of Dover, on board of a Dutch vessel, who had just been ransomed from the enemy; she informed him that the company she came with had fourscore canoes, and that there were more of them whom she had not seen, which came from other places, and that they told her that when they came altogether, should make up seven hundred men."

Maine Hist. Coll., vol. i., p. 293.

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his breakfast when the news was brought to him by the sons of Anthony Brackett¹ that the savages had captured their father; that in the farm orchard was a large army of Indians.² The soldiers were summoned from the town, and every available man was pressed into service.

When the distribution of ammunition was made it was found that the bullets were too large for the muskets. Enough cut into slugs to supply Church's force, they hastened to the scene of action, where some of the men who had gone on before, as he says, "were very hotly engaged;" but, coming to the river,³ the tide was up. An Indian called Captain

¹The number of the Indians was estimated at three to four hundred. Eleven of the English were killed, and ten were wounded.

Hutchinson, *Papers*.

Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. i., p. 92.

Mass. State Papers.

Willis, *Portland*, pp. 295, 296.

²Brackett's farm was at Back Cove, on the west shore, along the Salt Creek. It has for many years been known as the Deering farm. The orchard was down toward the point.

Willis, *Portland*, p. 278.

The Indians could reach the Brackett farm either by Back Cove or by Casco River. The place was accessible by canoes in either direction. At high tide Falmouth in those days was an island.

³Church's plan of the fight was to send his men along the north shore of the marsh, while, with the Saconets, he pushed farther north, with a view of striking the enemy in the rear.

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Lightfoot waded the tide creek, which was fairly wide but shallow, for the relay of ammunition. With a bag of powder on his head and a kettle of bullets in each hand, he went back; and after dealing out the powder and ball, he picked up his gun to plunge into the fight.

The creek proving an obstacle to Church and his men (fourscore), they moved up the south side of the stream to a bridge, over which they crossed to retrace their steps on the north side, well scattered, so as to be less exposed to the fire of the savages. The Indians were flanked. They had thrown up some logs and brush after a fashion, upon which Church advanced, to find that the savages had flown. Breaking through this slender barrier, Church and his men crossed some low ground, but were able to discover no signs of their enemy. The savages had taken flight, and the battle of Brackett's Woods had been fought and won by the settlers.

Captain Hall's company was the greatest sufferer in this fight. But for the timely arrival of Captain Southworth's company, with Captain Numposh and his Saconets, whose prompt relief saved the day, Captain Hall and his entire force would have been cut off and destroyed.

Church says this was the first time the eastward Indians were ever thoroughly whipped and put to flight. Of his own men, not one was killed outright. One of his Indian allies was mortally

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wounded, "who dyed,¹ several more being badly wounded, but recovered."

Matters in this province were in a most lamentable state, with the probability, as the days went, that the next set of sun would bring, with the obscurity of night, the French and Indians. The settlers were really defenceless against such in their lonely cabins, whose environments were the darkly rimmed clearings into which shone only the glitter of the starlit sky or the cold moon, to light up a waste of silence that was broken but by the baying of the owl or the whine of some prowling beast of prey. It was a grim solitude, and to be withstood only by the most courageous heart; and yet it was among just such scenes the men and the women of those days cradled their offspring. From the Piscataqua to the Kennebec were the scattered settlements of the English. More widely scattered were the rudely wrought shelters of the more adventurous, always along the banks of some stream or pond where the trout were abundant and the wild fowl found ample feeding-ground. Here was the home of the trapper as well as of the tiller of the fertile intervalles.

But of all the dangers that beset the settler, more dangerous than the cowardly wolf, the bear, the

¹ Drake, on the authority of a *MS. Letter* of Captain Basset, says the Indian who was killed was Sam Moses.

Drake's Baylie's *Plymouth*, p. 77.

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lynx, and the catamount was that human beast of prey, the "Frenchified savage," the tool of that most inveterate hater of the English, the Jesuit.

From the first advent of the Bigots and the Dreuilletes,¹ the work of spreading the Jesuit propaganda had been indefatigably prosecuted. Two mission colonies had been established in Maine,— one on the upper waters of the Kennebec, at Norridgewock; and the other at Pentagoët, on the Penobscot. They were numerous along the St. Lawrence. They had established themselves at the Falls of Chaudière, at Sault St. Louis, and at Sillery. No effort was spared or left untried to induce the Abenake to join these missions; and, unlike the English, whose policy was repression, these Jesuits encouraged the savages to indulge unbridled their desire to debauch themselves in a carnival of blood and fiendish cruelty — but always at the expense of the English.

While the Abenake allowed themselves to come under the baneful influence, they still clung to their old habitats along the Penobscot, the Kennebec, and the Saco. An Abenake migration to Canada began

¹In December of 1650 the Jesuit Gabriel Dreuilletes visited the Massachusetts Bay Colony as an envoy of the Canadian Governor Montmagny. Dreuilletes came down the Kennebec to the mission at old Cushnoc (Augusta), and thence across to the Capuchin mission on the Penobscot, from whence he made his way by water to Boston Harbor. He dined with Bradford at Plymouth, Dudley at Boston, and

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as early as 1675. It was to the mission on the St. Francis River they made their final migration, shortly after the destruction of Norridgewock and the disaster to Ralé.

The ten years following King Philip's War had not bettered conditions for the English, and one imagines it must have been with something of a

Endicott at Salem. His mission was to induce the Bay Colonies to join Canada in a war against the Iroquois. His mission was unsuccessful.

Parkman's description of this diplomatic incident is of interest. See his *Jesuits in North America*, pp. 419-429; Charlevoix, vol. i., p. 280.

Dreuilletes has an account of his visit to the Puritans in his *Narré du Voyage fait pour la Mission des Abenaquois, et des Connoissances tiréz de la Nova Angleterre et des Dispositions des Magistrats de cette République pour le Secours contre les Iroquois*. Also his report as to the result of his negotiations, in Ferland, *Notes sur les Registres*, p. 95; *The Record of the Colony of Plymouth*, June 5, 1651.

The following year Dreuilletes was sent to Connecticut by D'Ailleboust upon the same errand, where he had a conference with the Commissioners of the United Colonies, but without success.

Charlevoix, vol. i., pp. 288, 289.

Hazard, vol. ii., pp. 183, 184.

Hutchinson, *Collection of Papers*, p. 240.

Records of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, Sept. 5, 1651.

Commission of Dreuilletes and Godefroy, New York Col. Docs., vol. ix., p. 6.

For an account of the early Jesuit mission on the Kennebec, see Lalemant, *Relation*, 1647, 51-54; Maurault, *Histoire des*

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spirit of recklessness that the hardy settler, after so perilous an experience, left the vicinage of the larger settlements, to court the silences of the deeper woodlands when the whoop of the savage might at any time arouse their echoes. Through all these vicissitudes of peace and savage war the English were not unaware of the hotbeds of antagonism that were maintained: first by Thury; later, by L'Auvergat at St. Famille; and that other of Ralé, at Norridgewock. They knew of the provocation that had aroused St. Castin, and the rumor that the latter had offered to every savage who would go against the English a pound of gunpowder, two pounds of lead, and an ample supply of tobacco.¹ St. Castin traded with the English; he could do better with them than with his own people, for which he was not unfrequently upbraided by Thury, and his government, as well; but in those days the English, as well as the French, did not scruple to trade with their enemies, even while in actual conflict, if there was profit in the transaction.

Rumors of another war were not infrequent, and Denonville wrote to Versailles of the influence the French had acquired with the Abenake, and

Abenakis, pp. 116-156; Charlevoix, vol. i., p. 280; Vimont, *Relation*, 1645, p. 16.

This mission was within the Plymouth jurisdiction.

Baylie, *History of New Plymouth*, p. 36.

¹Henchman, *History of Massachusetts*, vol. i., p. 326.

New York Colonial Documents, vol. iv., p. 282, note.

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boasted of the "good understanding which he had with them," which he generously credited to the two Bigots and their co-workers for the Church among the savages.¹

With the winter snows the English could reckon their disasters of the autumn of 1689,— the massacre at Cocheco; the fight at Brackett's farm; the capture of the stockade at Pemaquid,² and some sixteen other garrisons of more or less importance— to all which Massachusetts and Plymouth seemed singularly indifferent. The negligence of these two colonies was culpable, if not criminal.

¹ *Denonville au Ministre, Janvier, 1690.*

² "The crowning event of the war was the capture of Pemaquid, a stockade work, mounted with seven or eight cannon. Andros had placed in it a garrison of a hundred and fifty-six men, under an officer devoted to him. Most of them had been withdrawn by the council of safety; and the entire force of the defenders consisted of Lieutenant James Weems and thirty soldiers, nearly half of whom appear to have been absent at the time of the attack. The Indian assailants were about a hundred in number, all Christian converts from mission villages. By a sudden rush they got possession of a number of houses behind the fort, occupied only by women and children, the men being at their work. Some ensconced themselves in the cellars, and others behind a rock on the seashore, whence they kept up a close and galling fire. On the next day Weems surrendered, under a promise of life, and, as the English say, of liberty to himself and all his followers. The fourteen men who had survived the fire, along with a number of women and children, issued from the gate, upon which some were butchered on the spot, and the rest, except-

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Much property had been destroyed, and many lives valuable to the colony had been cut off. In this winter of 1689-90, when the deep snows had made travel difficult, the settlers experienced an added sense of security. The landscape was white without, but within the garrison and cabins was the glow of the cheerful fires. Some, no doubt, recounted with a shiver of dread the harrowing tales of the fate that had befallen their neighbors, while their children listened with bated breath to the pounding of the gale and the creaking of the timbered roofs over them, or wrought with alert imagination the frost-pictures on the cabin window-panes into savage faces, while the men were planning some new defence against the opening days of spring. So, awake and sleeping, the settlement above the frost-bound river passed from one day into another.

It was March, 1690. The sun was riding high in the sky, the days were growing longer, and every day was bringing Hertel within leaping distance of his prey. He had come a long way, and now he could smell the smokes of the English fires. No rose ever smelled sweeter to him, with only a few

ing Weems and a few others, were made prisoners. In other respects the behavior of the victors is said to have been creditable. They tortured nobody, and their chiefs broke the rum-barrels in the fort, to prevent disorder. Father Thury, a priest of the seminary of Quebec, was present at the attack; and the assailants were a part of his Abenaki flock."

Parkman, *Frontenac and New France*, pp. 235, 236.

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hours of darkness between him and the clearings of the New Hampshire village.

The night of the twenty-seventh of this March month they had come to the rim of the woods, through which they got a glimpse of the snow-covered roofs. When the sun had gone down, and the village had become a shapeless blur in the obscurity of the short winter twilight, Hertel made his final arrangements for the attack. His scouts had found a garrison-house and two stockade forts, about which were clustered the cabins of the settlement. There was no sign of life about the place, only the smell of the hearth-smokes. The stockades were without sentinels.

Shortly after midnight Hertel, with his force of fifty-two French and Indians, left their place of hiding, and, dividing into three bands, the twenty-five Indians being under command of Hopehood,¹

¹Robinhood's son. He was in the attack on Berwick. His Indian name was Wohawa. He was also in the attack on Salmon Falls, Newichawannock, also at Fox's Point. He accompanied Symon in the first attack on Saco. He was wounded in the fight at Fox Point. He afterwards went to Canada, where he was shot by the Mohawks. Mention has already been made of his capture by the English, and his escape. He also served some time in Boston as a slave. There appears to have been another sachem of the same name among the Norridgewocks, who was at Casco when Governor Dudley effected the treaty of 1703.

Magnalia, bk. vii., art. ix.

Drake's *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., p. 109.

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a Kennebec sachem, they swooped down upon the sleeping town. Breaking into the forts and houses, they made short work with their inmates, killing some thirty in the defence which the settlers made, and taking the rest captive, to the number of fifty-four. After plundering the settlement, they gave it to the flames, burning all the houses, mills, and barns, not taking the trouble to loose the cattle in them. Then they raided the outlying farm-houses in the immediate neighborhood, killing and burning, after which they took up the trail for Canada.

The party was pursued by some one hundred forty men, who chased the savages as far as the bridge over Wooster's River (Berwick). Hertel, warned of the pursuit, posted his little force on the opposite river-bank and waited for the English to come up with him. Here, despite their efforts to cross the bridge, he held them in check until the sun went down, when the English left him to make his retreat unmolested to Canada. Hertel's nephew was killed in this fight, and his son got a severe wound in the knee. One Frenchman was taken prisoner.¹

¹"An anecdote of another kind may relieve the reader after these tragical accounts. Thomas Toogood was pursued by three Indians and overtaken by one of them, who having inquired his name, was preparing strings to bind him, holding his gun under his arm, which Toogood seized and went backward, keeping the gun presented at him, and protesting

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Hertel went as far as one of the Indian villages on the Kennebec, where he got news that the expedition despatched from Quebec had passed him on

that he would shoot him if he alarmed the others who had stopped on the opposite side of the hill. By this dexterity, he escaped and got safe into Cocheco; while his adversary had no recompense in his power but to call after him by the name of No good. When he returned to his companions without gun or prisoner, their derision made his misadventure the more grievous."

Belknap's *History of New Hampshire*, p. 133, note.

"The archives of Massachusetts contain various papers on the disaster at Salmon Falls. Among them is the report of the authorities of Portsmouth to the governor and council at Boston, giving many particulars and asking aid. They estimate the killed and captured at upwards of eighty, of whom about one-fourth were men. They say that about twenty houses were burnt, and mention but one fort. The other, mentioned in the French accounts, was probably a palisaded house. Speaking of the combat at the bridge, they say, 'We fought as long as we could distinguish friend from foe. We lost two killed and six or seven wounded, one mortally.' The French accounts say fourteen. This letter is accompanied by the examination of a French prisoner, taken the same day. Compare Mather, *Magnalia*, ii. 595; Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, i. 207; *Journal of Rev. John Pike* (*Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 1875); and the French accounts of Monseignat and La Potherie. Charlevoix adds various embellishments, not to be found in the original sources. Later writers copy and improve upon him, until Hertel is pictured as charging the pursuers sword in hand, while the English fly in disorder before him."

Parkman, *Frontenac and New France*, p. 239, note.

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its way to attack the English at Casco Bay. He at once took the backward trail, with thirty-six men. According to Willis, there were no regular soldiers stationed here at this time. Captain Willard, who had been here¹ with a company of soldiers, had been ordered to other duty the preceding February; and it was while the town was in this peculiarly defenceless condition the Casco settlers discovered a large fleet of canoes crossing the bay. Their destination seemed to be some place other than Casco. Nothing occurred for several days.² The first intimation of the presence of the savages about Casco was the capture of Robert Gleason, who lived in the neighborhood of the Presumpscot River. This was in the early days of May. Once the savages were known to be in the vicinity, the people were

¹"Captain Willard wrote from Salem in November to the Governor that his men at Casco needed supplies, that the parents of his soldiers were much displeased because they had not returned as promised. He proposed that Dr. Haraden be encouraged to visit the soldiers in Casco and take care of them."

Annals of Salem, p. 295.

²It was on April 28, 1690, that Sir William Phips sailed out of Boston on his expedition against Acadia. He arrived off Casco about the time the Quebec expedition arrived in the vicinity of that place. That fact was the occasion of the French and Indians not making an immediate attack on the place. Discovering the approach of the English frigate and the two sloops, the Quebec party went into hiding until Phips was well out of the way and not likely to return.

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ordered into the garrison and a watch set to guard against surprise.

In addition to Fort Loyal, there were at Casco four garrison-houses; but as to the location of the same there is some uncertainty. One was on Munjoy Hill, near the cemetery. There was the stone house of Captain Lawrence. Another was somewhere near the foot of what is now Exchange Street, possibly Lieutenant Ingersoll's. Another was situated somewhat south of the first meeting-house.¹ Another garrison-house was that of Elihu Gullison.² Captain Davis was the commander here. His lieutenant was Thaddeus Clark. There was a company of town soldiers here, but the order to keep the men in the garrison was not observed. Curious as to the movements of the savages, about thirty of Clark's company went up Munjoy Hill, then thickly wooded, where they ran into an ambuscade.³ Clark and thirteen of his soldiers were killed.

¹Sullivan, *History of Maine*.

²Willis, *Portland*, p. 299.

³"The outlet from the town to the wood was through a lane that had a fence on each side, which had a certain block-house at one end of it; and the English were suspicious, when they came to enter the lane, that the Indians were lying behind the fence, because the cattle stood staring that way, and would not pass into the wood as they used to. This mettlesome company then run up to the fence with an huzza! thinking thereby to discourage the enemy, if they should be

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This was a signal for an immediate attack on the town. The garrisons were bravely defended. When night came the startling discovery was made that they had used up their ammunition. Under the friendly cover of the night those in the garrisons made their escape into the fort. The next morning (May 16, 1690) the savages fired the houses in the Casco settlement, and then, with their entire force, amounting to some four or five hundred French and Indians, a sharp attack was made on the fort, which was unfavorably located for a successful defence.¹ For five days and four nights the fight went on, until, on May 20, the garrison surrendered.²

lurking there; but the enemy were so well prepared for them, that they answered them with a horrible vengeance, which killed the Lieut. and thirteen more on the spot, and the rest escaped with much ado unto one of the garrisons."

Mather's *Magnalia*, vol. ii., p. 524.

¹This fort was located upon the edge of the bluff, and its surrender was necessitated largely from the fact that the French had begun to mine that side toward the sea, which would soon render the same untenable.

²"The following account of the attack and surrender by Capt. Davis, the commander of the fort, will not be uninteresting. 'Myself having command of a garrison in Falmouth for the defence of the same, a party of French from Canada, joined with a company of Indians, to the number of betwixt four and five hundred French and Indians set upon our fort. The 16th of May, 1690, about dawning, began our fight; the 20th, about 3 o'clock, afternoon, we were taken. They fought us five days and four nights, in which time they killed or wounded the greatest part of our men, burned all the houses,

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In the destruction of the town its ancient records were lost,¹ as the entire settlement was destroyed. Those slain in this fight were not buried until 1692, when Sir William Phips and Major Church, who

and at last we were forced to have a parley with them in order for a surrender. We not knowing that there were any French among them, we set up a flag of truce in order for a parley. We demanded if there were any French among them and if they would give us quarter. They answered, that they were Frenchmen, and that they would give us good quarter. Upon this answer, we sent out to them again, to know from whence they came, and if they would give us good quarter, both for our men, women, and children, both wounded and sound, and that we should have liberty to march to the next English town and have a guard for our defence, and safety unto the next English town—and then we would surrender; and also that the Governor of the French should hold up his hand and swear by the great and ever living God, that the several articles should be performed. All which he did solemnly swear to perform; but as soon as they had us in their custody, they broke their articles, suffered our women and children and our men to be made captives in the hands of the heathen, to be cruelly murdered and destroyed many of them, and especially our wounded men; only the French kept myself and three or four more, and carried us over land for Canada. . . . About twenty-four days we were marching through the country for Quebeck in Canada, by land and water, carrying our canoes with us.”

Willis, *Portland*, p. 300.

¹“It has been intimated that the town records were carried to Canada; but it is not probable that the enemy would take pains to preserve and transport so great a distance, documents which to them had no sort of value. Judge Freeman men-

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were on an expedition east, halting for a day in August of that year at this place, found the cannon and the bleaching bones of the butchered men, women, and children among the ashes of the fort. These bones were buried, but whether in the old burying-ground, or elsewhere, Church does not say.¹

After the capture and destruction of the fort at Casco the garrison at Purpooduck — Cape Elizabeth side of Fore River — also those at Spurwink and Scarborough,² were deserted, the settlers falling

tioned the report to me [Willis], but he had no authority for it but tradition. Had there been a reasonable ground for the idea, the subsequent settlers would have obtained them, at a time when their loss was severely felt and produced great confusion in titles.”

Willis, *Portland*, p. 303, note.

¹“That is, the bones of those—over 100 persons—who had been destroyed there by the savages under the Sieur Hertel, 17 May, 1690. (Holmes’s *Annals*, i: 431; Belknap’s *Hist. N. Hamp.* i: 257-9; Hutchinson’s *Hist. Mass.* i: 353.)”

Church’s *Eastern Expedition*, p. 83, note.

²The Indian name for Scarborough was Owascoag. It was the habitat of Wickwarrawaske, the sachem or sagamore of the immediate country; his wife, Nagasqua; his son, Ugagogusket; and his daughter (Jane) Uphannum. The latter lived for many years after the war in a little hut on what has been since known as Jane’s Point (the northern side of Blue Point). Near-by are her grave and a spring of purest water (Jane’s spring). The stone that once made the back of her fireplace has been utilized for the same purpose in one of the modern cottages of the vicinity.

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back on Saco. A few days later they kept on to Wells, which, for the remainder of the war, was to bear the brunt of the Indian ravages. Wells made an appeal to Major Frost for assistance,¹ but any communication between the settlements was of a somewhat adventurous character. Danger attended every step along the woodland trails; for the roads were no more than horse-paths through a wild country where every thicket afforded a place of hiding for the prowling enemy.

East of the Piscataqua there were settlements only at wide intervals — settlements worthy of the name. Wells, Saco, and Scarborough were the principal places east of York, with Casco destroyed. After Saco, with its mills, Wells was the most im-

¹"Province of Maine,

1690 May the 18th day.

Major Frost. These are to inform you that the Indians and French hath taken Casco fort and to be feared that all the people are killed and taken. Therefore we desire your company here with us to put us in a posture of defense, for we are in a very shattered condision—some are for removing and some are for staying, so that we stand in great need of your assistance; if we stay we must have more assistance, and if we remove, we must have help and assistance to get away with what we have left—not else.

We remain your servants,

SAMUEL WHEELRIGHT.

JOSEPH STORER.

JONATHAN HAMMOND."

Bourne, *History of Kennebunk*, p. 199.

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portant; and in this town especially the settlers had built their houses with a view to making them places of safety in time of peril. Almost every roof sheltered a garrison-house; and with the Wheelright fort at the east end of the town, that of Benjamin Larrabee on the Mousam River, and that other of Joseph Storer's,¹ the settlers, once they had gained these shelters, were comparatively safe. Besides these were the Rankin, Littlefield, Kimball, and Peabody garrisons, to say nothing of those of lesser importance. While the houses of that period² were of the most ordinary sort, there was hardly one but what was capable of a fairly successful defence with three or four men to handle the muskets.

¹"Lieut. Joseph Storer's garrison, situated in the southern part of Wells, was one of the strongest fortifications in the Province, and the Lieut. one of the bravest and worthiest officers of his day. The successful defence of his garrison in 1692, with fifteen men, against a force of five hundred French and Indians, was the most memorable achievement of the whole war."

Maine Hist. Coll., vol. iii., p. 138, note.

²"Let us look into one of these houses. We enter the kitchen, which is also the sitting room and parlor. In looking around, we discover a table, a pewter pot, a hanger, a little mortar, a dripping pan, and a skillet; no crockery, tin or glass ware; no knives, forks or spoons; not a chair to sit in. The house contains but two other rooms, in each of which we find but one bed, a blanket and a chest. We have been through the house. They have nothing further to show us here. And this is the house of Edmund Littlefield, the richest

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These garrison-houses lent to Wells an importance as a frontier, which the government came to recognize by maintaining, from time to time, as danger threatened, small companies of regular troops at Storer's or Larrabee's; for, Wells destroyed, nothing could keep the French and Indians from extending their ravages across the Piscataqua, and possibly as far south as Boston. Wells was the buffer which was to receive and repel the savage shock; and that she did it in the face of odds is a matter of history.

Wells was in danger. Frost had been appealed to. Casco had been obliterated. East of Saco the savages were able to roam the woods with their aboriginal safety and freedom. The people were in doubt. Flight seemed cut off; for to these imperiled settlers every shifting shadow was a threat. Along with the message to Frost, another went to Boston. The demand was urgent. The savages were at last at Saco, which was to share the fate of Casco.

man in the town. When he first came to Wells he had a family of six children still to be educated under his roof. Francis had cut himself off from his father's care and protection; one or two others had arrived at maturity, but were yet in the family. Elizabeth, John, Thomas, Mary, Hannah, and Francis, Junior, between the ages of six and twenty, were abiding with the father; as we do not know precisely what furniture they had in the first years of their settlement here, we adopt that of a later period, confident that the former must have been less than the latter."

Bourne, *History of Wells and Kennebunk*, pp. 239, 240.

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One hundred twenty soldiers were sent to Maine, but not before Black Point, Spurwink, and Richmond's Island had been reduced to ashes. Added to the feeling of desperation which pervaded Wells at this time was the influx of some three or four hundred refugees from the eastward, who were not only to be sheltered, but, as well, fed; and Major Frost wrote, "Wells will desert if not forthwith reinforced."¹ Wells was resolved to hold out, if help came; but her houses were crowded, and the history of those first days of eight years of daily peril is best written in the letters that have fortunately been

¹"In another letter without date, some of the inhabitants of Wells say, speaking of the destruction of Saco, 'we got there Friday morning, found the inhabitants in a miserable shattered condition; some of the principal men of that place destroyed by the heathen the day before we got there. Several fishermen and others had buried seven bodies—found and buried two others. Could not stop because we expected every moment they would fall on us at Wells. We cannot withstand them without help from the soldiers. As for Saco, they are brought so exceedingly low that they are just ready to desert without speedy relief. If they go away, Cape Porpoise being gone already, Wells will soon be destroyed. So in a very short time, without speedy relief, the whole province will be wholly lost and left to the pleasure of the heathen. Had not those great Rabellers made such great disturbance amongst us, we should have been in much better capacity than we are (so it is.) If speedy help cannot be afforded us, we expect nothing but ruin. We therefore humbly request your speedy assistance, or else farewell this poor province.'"

Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, pp. 200, 201.

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preserved, else there would have been no other record available. Roger Hill, garrisoned at Wells, wrote his wife at Saco before the latter town was destroyed.¹

The savages, divided into numerous small parties, were burning east and west of Scarborough. Crossing the New Hampshire border, under Hopehood they attacked Fox Point, in Newington, burning several houses. They killed fourteen here, and carried away six. They were not, however, to get away without a taste of English vengeance; for they were smartly pursued by Captains Floyd and Greenleaf, who engaged them at once. The savage Hopehood was wounded and lost his musket. Some of the captives and plunder were recovered. Nothing more was seen of these marauders in this part of the country until July 4, following, when eight men were killed as they were mowing in a field which bordered on Lamphrey River. The following day they appeared before Hilton's garri-

““May 6, 1690. The Indians have killed Goodman Frost and James Littlefield, and carried away Nathaniel Frost and burnt several houses here in Wells. I would have our son John hire a boat and bring you some from Saco and some of our things, if he possibly can. I fear it is not safe to come by land. John, be as careful as you can of your mother, for it is very dangerous times. The Lord only knows whether we shall ever see one another any more.

Your loving husband till death.

ROGER HILL.”

Bourne, *History of Wells and Kennebunk*, pp. 201, 202.

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son in Exeter, but the fortunate arrival of Lieutenant Bancroft drove the savages into the woods. The English lost several men in this skirmish, one of whom, Simon Stone, had nine gunshot wounds, with two cuts of a hatchet. The man recovered from his hurts, much to the amazement of his neighbors.¹

Captains Floyd and Wiswall, with two companies, at once began a search of the vicinage, hoping to come upon the savages, which they did at Wheelright's Pond (Lee). There was a hot fight, in which Wiswall and a lieutenant by the name of Flagg, with twelve others, were killed. The loss of the savages is not known. Floyd kept up the fight until the condition of his men, who were thoroughly exhausted, and many of them wounded, compelled him to abandon the contest. Evidently the Indians were badly whipped; for Converse, going to the scene of action to look after the more seriously wounded, found seven of the English living. These he brought in early the next morning, after which he returned to give the dead burial. The Indians went further westward, as far as Amesbury. On this raid, in a week's time, the savages had killed, between the latter place and Lamphrey River, as many as forty of the English.

There was, throughout the ravages of the Indians, on their part, a manifest disposition toward extreme

¹ Mather's *Magnalia*, lib. 7, p. 74.

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cruelty; and in this may be discovered the fine hand of Ralé and his Jesuit contemporaries. The English in King Philip's War, as well as in the earlier wars with the Pequods, inaugurated the despicable trading off of the captured savages as slaves;¹ and the savages were now following the evil example of the English by selling the most vigorous and healthy English captives to the French, while the weaker and more puny were tomahawked and scalped. For every scalp they received a bonus from the French. Two instances are recorded by Mather of the savages giving three women their freedom,—one at Fox Point, who had given them

¹Quoting Edward Everett Hale, in Winsor's *Memorial History of Boston*, vol. i., p. 321, in reference to the disposition of the savages captured in King Philip's War, he says: "At first they were assigned to such families as would receive them; but before the war ended they were sent into West Indian slavery." He asks, "What was the fate of Philip's wife and child? She is a woman; he is a lad. They surely did not hang them? No. That would have been mercy. They were sold into slavery; West Indian slavery! An Indian princess and her child sold from the breezes of Mount Hope, from the wild freedom of a New England forest, to gasp under the lash beneath the blazing sun of the tropics!"

It is something to boast of one's Puritan ancestry, but a privilege to be used in moderation; and one might pluck some bitter-sweet fruit off the family tree, possibly, in a candid reading of Stark's *Loyalists of Massachusetts and the Other Side of the American Revolution*.

The possessor of the humble patronymic may possibly have cause to feel grateful.

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food; and at York, two aged women and five children—in return for some generosity of Colonel Church, who had humanely spared the lives of as many squaws captured with their children at Ameriscoggin.¹

As Belknap remarks, justly, New England now charged these savageries to the French influence in Canada, and the design was entertained to make a conquest of that territory, the direction and command of which was given to Sir William Phips; but

¹The Androscoggin River, about which the Androscoggin Indians made their habitat, was variously known to them as the Anasagunticook, the Anconganunticook, Amasaquantig, and Amasacongan. The latter is the original of "Androscoggin;" at least, so the savage Perepole deposes. *Coggin*, according to Ventromile, means "coming." *Ammasacoggin* he translates as "fish coming in the spring."

History of the Abenakis, p. 24.

Willis says it means, "Great Skunk River."

Maine Hist. Coll., vol. iv., p. 115.

Potter gives it *naamas* (fish), *kees* (high), and *auke* (place),—"the high fish-place."

Maine Hist. Coll., vol. iv., p. 189.

Rev. Dr. Ballard renders it *naamās* (fish), and *Skaughigan* (Skowhegan),—"fish-spear."

United States Coast Survey, 1868, p. 247.

Perepole describes the river between Lewiston and Canton as affording rips and shallows where the Indians were able to capture fish readily with their spears.

Pejepscot Papers, Perepole's Deposition.

Mather, *Magnalia*, lib. 7, p. 74.

MS. Letter.

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with that unfortunate and disastrous expedition which resulted in Phips sustaining a repulse at Quebec this relation is not correlative. An exchange of prisoners was had, however, the principals among whom were Captain Silvanus Davis and the two young daughters of Lieutenant Thaddeus Clark, who were taken at the fall of Fort Loyal.¹

The story of Phips at Quebec is too remote in scene and action to demand further notice, as it had little effect upon the savages, who continued to harass the English frontier until the truce of Sagadahoc, November 29, which was to last until the following May, 1691. This cessation of hostilities was voluntary on the part of the Indians; and the English were only too willing to do anything that would give them a brief respite from the alarm that continually dogged their steps indoors and out.

Before closing the account of the direful happenings of the year 1690 one must needs follow Colonel Church to Pejepscot on his second expedition east. Church got away from Portsmouth about the middle of September of this year, sailing out of Portsmouth Harbor for Casco, or some other place "adjacent, that may be most commodious for Landing with safety and secresy."

His objective-point was "Ameras-cogen" (An-

¹Parkman, *Frontenac and New France*, pp. 274-290.

Journal of Major Walley, in Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts*, vol. i., p. 470.

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droscoggin), about "80 myle from the sea," and "near the great *Pennacook* Falls on the Androscoggin River in Rumford,"— a "territory which used to be called by the Indians *Roccamecco*."¹ Making their landing,² they took up the march to Pejepscot, where, finding no trace of the Indians, they kept on to "Ameras-cogen." Within a mile of the fort Church halted his forces. He had discovered Doney and his wife, with two English captives.³

Doney⁴ discovered Church's soldiers at the same

¹*Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. iii., p. 323.

²Church's *Eastern Expeditions*, p. 71, note.

³Drake's *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., p. 114.

"And looking over the brow of a hill by the river, espied two English captiues and an Indian, moving towards the fort: ran after them, and soon took the English but the Indian got cleare. Then I feared he would informe the fort: gave order, that all with one consent should run throw the river and not mind any other forme: but he that could gett first to the fort, if they opportunity, to offer them peace. If they would not accept it to fall on, and by that time they were well entred the rest would be come up: also I gave order for 2 companies to spread between the woods and the fort to preuent the escape of the enemie that way—all which was attended. We were very wett running throw the riuier, but got up undiscovered to the fort till within shott: few Indians we found there, but two men and a lad of about: 18: with some women and children: 5 ran into the riuier, 3 or 4 of which were killed. We killed 6 or 7 and took eleven."

Church's *Letter*.

⁴In his *Book of the Indians*, p. 307, Mr. Drake gives it as his opinion that Doney, or Dony, was of a family who were

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time, and fled toward the fort, leaving his wife and the captives to the mercies of Church. Doney's wife was shot, the captives falling into the hands of the English, to regain their freedom. Church gave chase to Doney, in hope he might reach the fort before the Frenchman; but a stream which they had to wade, with the water to their arm-pits, delayed

French residents among the Indians, as was St. Castin, and that this son was a half-breed. Williamson (p. 264) says he was one of the Sokokies, aborigines of the Saco Valley. Sullivan (*Hist. Dist. Me.*, p. 180) calls Doney a savage. Mather (*Magnalia*, lib. vii., pp. 86, 87) enumerates Robin Doney as one of the sagamores who signed the "Submission" at Pemaquid, 1693, and says he was seized at Saco within a year after. Williamson refers to him with Bomazeen.

"As Church expected, Doney ran into one gate of the fort and out at the other, giving the alarm so effectually, that nearly all within it escaped. They found and took prisoners 'but two men and a lad of about 18, with some women and children. Five ran into the river, three or four of which were killed. The lad of 18 made his escape up the river.' The whole number killed in this action was 'six or seven.' The English had but one wounded."

Drake's *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., p. 115.

"Two years after this, in 1693, Robin Doney became reconciled to the English, and signed a treaty with them at Pemaquid. But within a year after, he became suspected, whether with or without reason, we know not, and coming to the fort at Saco, probably to settle the difficulty, was seized by the English. What his fate was is rather uncertain, but the days of forgiveness and mercy were not yet."

Ibid., p. 116.

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them. Church quickly stripped to his shirt, and, "leaving his Breeches behind, ran directly to the fort," watching Doney on the other side of the river. The latter was the better runner, and got into the fort at the south gate, to pass through and out the north gate. The occupants of the fort took the alarm and were at his heels. They ran directly to the falls of the river. Church ordered Captain Walton and his men into the fort. With the remainder of his force he kept after the savages, some of whom dashed into swift water and were drowned, one savage getting safely over.

Not able to discover the hiding-place of Doney, or such of his Indians as had not leaped into the stream, Church returned to the fort, where were captured the wife of Worrumbo, sachem of the fort; the wife of Captain Hakin, a sachem of Pennacook, the same who was at the killing of Waldron. Among the captives were Worrumbo's two children. The captive savages were anxious to make terms, and offered to return all the English prisoners as the price of their own lives. Of the English captives there were about eighty, some of whom were in the fort at that time. One of these was Captain Huckin's wife, who had been captured in the raid on Oyster River.¹ Along with the women, Church had captured one of Worrumbo's men, who told him that most of the fighting-men of that tribe had gone

¹Oyster River is about fifteen miles from Portsmouth.

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to Winter Harbor¹ to provide for the coming of some savages who lived about the Bay of Fundy. They were to make a raid in the direction of Wells. This savage was one of those who had escaped capture at the defeat of Philip. The Indian women begged Church to spare the fellow. Church told the women to say to Worrumbo and his men when they came home that he was "known by the name of Church, and lived in the Westerly part of Plymouth Government, and those Indians that came with him were formerly King Philip's Men," along with some other of his biography, concluding, if "Hakin and Worrumbo wished to see their wives, they should come to Wells Garrison."

The English found in the fort "a pretty deal of corn in barnes under the ground," which they destroyed; some "guns and ammunition a pretty deal, with beaver," which they confiscated. They provided for the two old squaws left by them, leaving

¹The earliest designation for Biddeford Pool, at the mouth of the Saco River, above Wood Island and the settlement established by Richard Vines. Williamson says it was so called after John Winter, who lived there. Winter lived at Richmond's Island. Vines wintered here in 1616, which fact undoubtedly gave rise to the name of the place.

Willis, *History of Portland*, p. 16.

Folsom's *Saco*, p. 24.

²"Also if they were for peace to come to Goodman Smalls (?) att Barwick within 14 dayes, who would attend to discourse them."

Church's *Letter*, p. 93.

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them two kettles of corn, the rest of which they destroyed. All the Indians captured here, with the exception of the two old women and the wives of Hakin and Worrumbo, "being knocked on the head," were properly buried.

Church at once moved back to Maquoit,¹ where their vessels lay; after which, with a fair wind, they sailed away for Winter Harbor. The next morning, when it came light enough to see, they discovered "some Smokes rising toward Scaman's Garrison."² Church despatched sixty men in that direction, to follow later with his whole force. Coming to the river, one of Church's scouts stumbled upon three savages, who made for their canoe to get across the river to a considerable body of Indians on the opposite bank. He sent a bullet after the three, who were well into the stream, dropping the savage with the paddle. The canoe was overturned; the three were thrown into the water and drowned. The savages, some forty in number, ran, leaving their canoes and provisions to the English.³ They left one captive behind, Thomas Baker, who told the English where

¹Bear Place, or Bear Bay (Brunswick). Church landed (September 13), and marched to Fort Andros by night; but the savages had eluded him.

²Scamman's garrison was on the east side of the Saco River, three miles below the falls.

Williamson, *History of Maine*, vol. i., p. 625.

Folsom's *Saco*, p. 188.

³Church's *Eastern Expeditions*, p. 73.

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the Ammeriscoggins¹ had hidden their beaver. Church was for following the savages, but his men clamored to return to the vessels, which they did. Setting sail for a return to the eastward, they sailed up "the back-side of Mayr-point" (Mare Point, a neck of land in Brunswick). Coming upon some canoes, which at once disappeared up river, the next day, very early, in a heavy mist, the English had a sharp skirmish² with the Indians. Church calls it a "short, smart fight."

Then Church embarked for Piscataqua.³ When he got to the "bank"⁴ (Strawberry-bank, now Portsmouth) he had but eightpence in his pocket, and had to forego "Pollard's at the south end,"⁵ so poorly was he recompensed for his services by the government. Some of his officers were in even worse condition, being penniless. With all his boasted traits, Church seems to have been some-

¹Church's *Letter*, p. 94.

Williamson, vol. i., p. 564, note.

²Lewis, *History of Lynn*, p. 177.

Newhall, *Annals of Lynn*, p. 289.

Church, *Letter*, p. 96.

Church, *Eastern Expeditions*, p. 73, note.

³They reached Portsmouth September 26.

⁴Strawberry Bank; i.e., Portsmouth.

"A banke where straberries was found in this place."

Brewster, *Rambles about Portsmouth*, p. 23.

⁵William Pollard.

Whitman's *History of Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company*, p. 211.

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thing of a bumptious bully, of reckless bravery, to whom hunting down half-armed Indians was a glorious pastime.

In 1690 Wells was the eastern-frontier English town. Berwick had shared the fate of Casco and Saco. The garrisons of Wells had maintained their integrity, and were manned, not only by brave and hardy settlers, but by regular troops. For a time, Captain Wylie had been in command, but, some dissatisfaction arising, Wells was given over to the military direction of Captain Elisha Andrews, whose letter to the Boston authorities is direct evidence as to the condition of affairs there. Captain Andrews writes, under date of October 31, 1690:

"These are to inform your honors that I received a copy of the order of the General Court respecting Wells of Major Pike, which order I have obeyed. The 28th inst. Samuel Storer arrived here with a hundred bushels of Indian corn and rye, thirty waistcoats, thirty pair of drawers, and a hog's-head of salt, which is but a small supply, considering the poverty of the inhabitants, and the necessity the soldiers are in, in respect to clothing, shirts, shoes, and stockings, that I have a great deal of trouble to keep them here, the inhabitants not caring for our company, they not desiring above twenty, if any. Therefor, I crave of your honors, that if soldiers must be kept here that we might be relieved and others sent in our room, for there is such animosity between the soldiers and the in-

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habitants that there is little hopes of us doing anything that tends to God, honor, or the good of the country.

"The inhabitants were in but five garrisons when Capt. Wylly's went away, as Major Pike had ordered, and these are removed into seven, and several are disirous of going home to their own houses, and the most part of them is for keeping little or no watch, for there is no command amongst them, which makes them incapable of defense, that if the enemy comes upon us I am afraid their carelessness will be both their destruction and ours also; I entreat your honors to take it into consideration. Nothing more material at present. I remain, your honors humble servant at command.

ELISHA ANDREWS.

"If your Honors please to discourse Capt. Wylly, he can inform you of all particulars."

The message left at "Ameras-cogen" by Church was not wholly conducive to the peace and repose of Wells, although the wives of Hakin and Worumbo were held as hostages at that place. These sachems were not long hunting up their squaws, and declared themselves ready to enter into a treaty, the result of which was the truce of November, 1690. At this time, President Danforth came from Boston with a troop of horse, and attended in state upon the ceremony of entering into the "truce;" but the sagamores did not appear. Danforth went back to Boston, a dupe to the delusion

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that any sound confidence could be reposed in a treacherous savage. Hardly a month earlier they had come from the eastward in their canoes to Rye Beach, and, landing there for a day, had killed and made captive twenty-one of the settlers.¹

When Danforth left Wells he promised to send immediate relief. While anxious for the safety of that community, he was, as well, inclined to moderation. Perhaps, had he been in little closer touch with the atrocities that followed in the train of a savage visitation, he might have been more radical and the government less penurious. The money spent in building Pemaquid Fort would have established a cordon of blockhouses across the Scarborough frontier that would have been impassable to French or Indian invader. Church's operations were expensive, but they accomplished nothing to speak of, his most effective expedition being that which enabled him to take part in the fight of Brackett's Woods, at old Casco.

The Massachusetts government seemed to learn very little from experience, and it soon became so difficult to raise money for the defence of this frontier that a public Thanksgiving was ordered in the United Colonies. Church services were held, and the people were requested to donate, as to a charity, the proceeds of which were forwarded to John Wheelright, John Littlefield, and Joseph

¹Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 135, note.

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Storer, to be used in behalf of the various garrisons as necessity suggested. The amount realized from this unusual method of levying a summary tax in war-time is not given. It certainly could not have been large, else it would have come sounding down through the years, an aura of patriotic glory. The trade in aborigines to the Barbadoes evidently was not of sufficient volume to warrant a draft of any size on the colonial exchequer. One important order was passed, however, giving to the committees of militia at York and Wells power to confiscate any fat cattle for the supply of the soldiers, "especially from such persons as desert the Province."

Yet money and supplies were not all, with the strenuous support of the colonies lacking. Spring came, but the savages had not appeared as they promised. No better sign that hostilities would be renewed with the first opportunity was needed to assure the Wells settlers that their only safety lay in prompt and effective measures.

The Storer garrison joined the Mill and other garrisons in maintaining a night watch of "three sufficient persons." It was further ordered that a scout should patrol the entire frontier. Wheelright was to have the supervision of one patrol, while Captain Littlefield should direct the Negunquit watch. It was a perilous task, but the watch was kept, while the government at Boston seemed indifferent to the crisis. No single garrison — in fact, none of the garrisons were equipped with the

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proper supplies; nor was there any likelihood they would be.

May 25, 1691, the Wells people made another appeal to Boston.¹ On the ninth day of the following month thirty-five men were sent from Essex. These were stationed at the Storer garrison, under Convers. Their arrival was most fortuitous. Less than an hour after, a large force of French and Indians appeared on the open ground in front of Storer's, under Moxus. They made a furious attack on the garrison, which lasted four days. A slender account of this raid is contained in a letter of Governor Stoughton, under date of June 24, 1691.² This assault on Wells does not seem to have attracted much attention at Boston. The Essex men came, but no supplies; another appeal was made,³ in which Wells set forth her losses and her great necessity. No substantial relief coming through that summer of anxious watching and

¹ Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 206.

² "We have intelligence that the eastward Indians and some French have made an assault upon y^e garrisons in and neere the towne of Wells and have killed about six persons thereabout. They drove their cattell together, and killed them before their faces.' They then departed, leaving word that the assault would soon be repeated. Madockauando also said: 'Moxus miss it this time; next year I'll have the dog, Convers, out of his den.'"

Ibid, p. 207.

³ *Ibid*.

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doubt, another appeal was made, on September 28 following;¹ nor was it an appeal to be disregarded; for on the following day the soldiers of the Wells garrison made complaint that they were "naked and destitute of clothing and wish to be discharged, unless supplied; and that Captain Creek is not capable of any command,— they not being able to stand his cursing and swearing," and praying for his removal.

Captain John Hill had a company of thirty-eight men, probably stationed elsewhere. He was emphatic in his demand for more soldiers, and urged that Convers be at once sent to Wells. While the savages were expected on their annual fall raid, they had not shown themselves in the vicinity since June. It is in this last letter that the name of the unfortunate George Burroughs appears, whose trial and execution by the authority of the Colonial Court was all of a parcel with the times and the credulities of the men who composed them.

Pentagoët, supposed to be the hatchery of the plots against the security of the English of Maine and New Hampshire, had been singularly quiet, as during the greater part of 1691 the Indians had not been so aggressively active. Sporadic spoiliations were in evidence at one point and another on the frontier; but it was in the early summer that the greater depredations had been committed.²

¹ Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 208.

² It was in September, 1691, that several companies of mi-

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While the Abenake were responsive to Ralé, at Norridgewock; Bigot, on the Kennebec; and Thury, at Pentagoët, the French were not so sure of their allegiance. The high-sounding promises of the French had not resulted in the conquest of any part of the English territory south of Wells. The Indians were not only growing apathetic, but, as well, inclined to regard the English prowess with more respect. The close proximity of the English was a menace to St. Castin's domain, especially with an English outpost at Pemaquid. The English had dropped in upon St. Castin twice,— once in 1686, and again in 1687,— and the eastern expedition of Church was not without its influence. Phips had easily captured Port Royal, and the English had shown the Indians they could inflict injury as well as survive it.

So, on the one hand, was the fear of the English, and, on the other, the possibilities of trade. Six sachems had engaged in a treaty with the Boston commissioners — a circumstance which, while not carrying much weight, having reference to the

litia landed at Maquoit and reconnoitered Fort Andros, at Brunswick. They found it abandoned. As they were leaving Maquoit in their boats they were attacked by the savages, who appeared in strong force. One of the officers, Captain Sherburne, of Portsmouth, was killed. The other officers in command were Captains King, March, and Walton.

Williamson, *History of Maine*, vol. i., p. 628.

Wheeler's *Brunswick*, p. 52.

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fickleness of the savage, was sufficient to alarm the French, who could but realize that a peace compact between the Indians of Maine and the English at Boston would gravely imperil their own interests in Acadia, and possibly along the St. Lawrence River.

It was upon the savage the French were dependent for fighting material, and they were to be incited to engage in further depredations upon the English frontier. The Abenake were cajoled with presents; nor were the priests behind with their injunctions to the savage that their spiritual welfare was entirely dependent upon their continuing their enmity toward the English. Thury and Ralé were indefatigable in inculcating upon these rude minds the pleasure they would afford the mother of Christ, "whose son had been crucified by the English," in taking every opportunity to extirpate the English heretics.

Villebon was sent to Acadia. His first labor was to regain Port Royal. Then he crossed over to St. John, afterward building a fort at Naxouat (Fredericton), out of the reach of the English, where he could get his savage allies whipped into shape for the war-path. The French had decided upon another blow at the English. It was necessary, to hold the Abenake, especially those who had been a party to the last truce. Some of the savages were hungry for more slaughter. With these as a nucleus, a war-party was soon gathered, and supplied by the French with guns and ammunition without stint.

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Under the inspiration of Thury, in January of 1692 one hundred fifty of Thury's Penobscot converts took the old trail for the Kennebec, where, augmented by a contingent from Norridgewock, they went westward, their snow-shoes leaving along the floors of the snow-smothered woods a well-beaten path for their return. For a month they traversed the pallid wilderness. At the end of their journey they went into camp under the lee of a great hill (Agamenticus). From its crest their scouts looked down upon an English village scattered along an inlet of the sea. The white roofs were topped with low, square chimneys, from which a hundred smokes upcurled into the afternoon sunshine. Out by Roaring Rock was another lone smoke, Parson Dummer's. Among the medley of roofs were four or five which suggested as many garrison-houses.

For all this suggestion of warmth and hospitality, the savages kept the shadow of the great hill, without fires, exposed to the smother of a blinding snow-storm that began before daybreak. Chilled to the bone, and greedy for the heats of burning cabins, they broke camp with the dawn. Around the savages was the silent wilderness; before, was the sleeping settlement.

York was a considerable settlement and locally prominent in the province. The relict of old Gorgeana, from its earliest days it possessed a reputation for stability, with numerous families of pretension, from Godfrey down. It was morning on the fourth

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day of February, 1692. All over York the snow was piled in deep drifts. It had been a severe winter. The sea lay before, dusky and blurred under the storm. Over the cleared lands the snow sifted down, choking the rim of the woodlands with its blinding smother. To the settler the deepening cold had been pregnant with safety, and York, unheeding, slept.

A lad had gone out early into the woods, possibly to look after his traps. Making his way stealthily through the snow-laden bushes, he came upon a stack of snow-shoes. Any boy in York can point out Snow-shoe Rock; for it was in the lee of a boulder young Bragdon came upon this strange accumulation. A glance revealed their like strange fashioning. Retracing his way, he sped toward Indian Head as the nearest hiding-place. Gaining that shelter, while getting his wind for another spurt, he observed an Indian dog nosing at his heels. The animal's muzzle was bound with deer-thongs. With a new terror tugging at his heart, Bragdon fled toward the river, the dog still at his heels. He found a boat, in which he crossed the stream, and, stumbling into the cabin of a settler named Smith, fell across the threshold, the breathless tale on his lips. A musket-shot verified his story, and the butchery of the half-dressed settlers of old York began.

Parson Dummer¹ was shot at his door. A hun-

¹ Rev. Shubael Dummer, the first settled minister of York.

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dred settlers had been shot and tomahawked when this massacre was over. Eighty had been made captive. One or two of the garrison-houses were taken, but such of the settlers as gained those of Preble, Harmon, Alcock, and Norton escaped, as the savages avoided their muskets. Killing all the cattle, and loading themselves with plunder, under the low-drifting smokes of the burning settlement the marauders divided into small parties to scour the country five miles around. All the outlying farms having been laid waste, they made off into the woods on their return journey to Pentagoët, and York was left to count her dead and brood over her broken families.¹

A force of men from Portsmouth followed the trail of this party, but, losing it, returned, as they went, empty-handed. When the Abenake war-party got home a season of festivity followed, with boastful speeches and gifts from the French. It is recorded that Portneuf sang a war-song in the Abenake; and opened a barrel of wine, which his

He married a daughter of Edward Rishworth. Bourne says he was eminent for his social virtues and his moral and mental culture.

Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 211.

¹Parkman regards the account of Champigny, in a letter to the minister, October 5, 1692, as the best of the attack on York. Compare Mather, Williamson, and Niles. *Vide* contemporary *Journal* of Rev. John Pike.

Parkman, *Frontenac and New France*, p. 369, note.

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barbarous guests emptied in a quarter of an hour, while he whooped, sang, and danced like any other barbarian. It was by the indulgence of the Abenake in butchery and debauch the French were to hold them to their interest; so another war-party was set on foot, which was to descend on the Storer garrison sometime in the summer.

In June of this year (1692) great preparations were under way at Pentagoët for the raid on Storer. Portneuf, Desîles, La Broquerie, with other French officers and a party of Canadians, were at Pentagoët. The savages came in,—Micmacs and Malecites, the Jesuit Baudoin, with a second band of Micmacs from Beaubasin,—until Pentagoët wore a holiday air, with its feasts, its gifts, and “big talks.” The Abenake came in from Norridgewock, until a little army of four hundred warriors had gathered for the march on the Storer garrison. Moxus¹ and

¹“Moxus, or, as he was sometimes called, Agamagus, was also a noted Penobscot chief, and one of Madokawando's principal captains. We can add little concerning him, to what has already been said above. After that great sachem was dead, and the war between the French and English nations ceased, the eastern chiefs were ready to submit to terms.

“Moxus seems the successor of Madokawando, and when delegates were sent into the eastern country to make peace with the Indians, in 1699, his name stood first among the signers of the treaty. He concluded another treaty with Gov. Dudley in 1702. The next year, in company with Wanungonet, Assa-combuit, and a number of French, he invested Captain March in the fort at Casco. After using every endeavor to take it by

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Egremet¹ were at the head of their tribes, and other noted sachems were in their train. Early in June they crossed Penobscot Bay.

While making this journey some hostile Indians appeared at Cocheco. Lieutenant Wilson, with eighteen men, overtaking these savages, killed or wounded all but one. So salutary was the effect on the New Hampshire hostiles that until June 10, 1692, nothing was heard of them along the border. Wells had learned the details of the York massacre

assault, they had recourse to the following stratagem. They began at the water's edge to undermine it by digging, but were prevented by the timely arrival of an armed vessel under Captain Southack. They had taken a vessel and a great quantity of plunder. About 200 canoes were destroyed, and the vessel retaken. From which circumstance it may be inferred that their number was great.

"Moxus was at Casco in 1713, to treat with the English, and at Georgetown, upon Arowsike Island, in 1717. There were seven other chiefs who attended also at the time and place last mentioned."

Drake, *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., pp. 104, 105.

¹Egremet was of Machias. He was sometimes called Moxus. He was at the fort at Pemaquid, February 16, 1696. Egremet came in under a flag of truce, and, arousing some suspicion in trying to escape from the fort, was killed by Captain Pasco Chubb's men.

Drake, *Book of the Indians*, p. 112.

Mather speaks of Egremet with great contempt.

Magnalia, bk. vii., art. viii.

Egremet was with Labocree at Storer's garrison, as was Madockawando and Moxus.

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by heart. To remain in Wells meant life or death; to fly would be to lose all that for which for so many years they had labored.

Phips was Governor of Massachusetts. He sent a small force to their assistance, and they settled down to the acceptance of whatever fate had in store for them. Captain Convers was ordered to the Storer garrison with a command of fifteen men. These were reënforced by other brave spirits among the men and women who had sought Storer's as a refuge; and though untrained to military service, they were so incensed by the savage barbarities which had driven them from their homes that they were ready to serve the common good wherever they might be able to render efficient aid.

On June 9 two sloops came up stream, under the command of Captain Samuel Storer and James Gooch, laden with an abundance of stores and ammunition. They had brought along an additional force of fourteen men for the garrison. On the same day the cattle came from their pasturage on the run. Madockawando, or some of his men, had fired upon them, and the animals had stampeded in their fear.

Storer's garrison was warned. Convers ordered all on guard — the sloops especially. Immediate preparations were made for a strenuous defence. The French scouts had reported the situation to Portneuf. A passenger on one of the sloops endeavored to escape to the fort. He fell into the

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hands of the savages, and from him the French extorted the details as to the strength of Storer's.

Under Portneuf and Labocree,¹ the French and Indians, fully five hundred in number, came into the opening, as if to intimidate the English by a display of their force. The enemy were evidently encouraged by what they had gleaned from their prisoner, John Diamond. They were so sure of their prey that they began to apportion among themselves the captives and the plunder before a gun had been fired. Gooch had taken his vessel two miles up river, but he sailed her down to Storer's by night, a west wind blowing at the time.

As the inmates of the garrison watched the enemy with the terror of uncertainty, they saw one of the officers step out before his men, evidently giving his bloodthirsty crew their last instructions. When he had done they made for the garrison with deafening whoops. Their first attempt was to force the gate, but Convers's men were shooting to kill, and the enemy were mowed down while, as Mather says, "they kept calling to surrender, which ours answered with a laughter with a mortiferous bullet at the end of it."

The sloops were left on an ebb tide. The French essayed their capture, and, shielded by a pile of plank, poured a rain of bullets over their decks, dis-

¹Williamson gives Labocree for La Broquerie. So does Captain Silvanus Davis.

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charging "fire-arrows" into their rigging. On the vessels the English met the assault with such cool obstinacy that their tormentors could make no headway. One man was killed in the defence of the sloops. Their next move was to set up a wall of plank on the back of a cart. La Broquerie (Labocree), with twenty-six French and Indians, got behind and pushed it over the flats toward the vessels. Within fifty feet of the nearest vessel the cart stuck in the soft bottom, and La Broquerie was shot¹ and killed while lifting one wheel from the imprisoning mud. The tide was rising. A Frenchman tried to escape. He was shot. Then followed a hail of English bullets, and the enemy ran. The battle for the sloops was over. This closed the first day. The next day was Sunday. Nothing was left for Portneuf but to make one grand attack on the

¹ Villebon, *Journal de ce qui s'est passé à l'Acadie*, 1691, 1692.

Mather, *Magnalia*, vol. ii., p. 613.

Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts*, vol. ii., p. 67.

Williamson, *History of Maine*, vol. i., p. 631.

Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 213.

Niles, *Indian and French Wars*, p. 229.

The French were unable to recover La Broquerie's body. Niles says that on his body was found a pouch "stuffed full of relics, pardons and indulgences."

Diamond told the French there were thirty men on the sloops.

Parkman, *Frontenac and New France*, p. 374.

Drake, *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., p. 102.

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garrison. On came the French and Indians. In the garrison some one muttered the word, "Surrender!" Convers shouted, "Say that again, and you are a dead man."

The attacking force danced and yelled and fired their guns at the garrison walls, calling upon Convers to surrender. Convers laughed at them. He was sure the English were safe; and even the women, reassured, began to take part by passing ammunition to the soldiers. Some took a shot at the enemy for themselves. The French offered Convers all kinds of terms, but the latter kept to his garrison with his thirty men, despite the taunts of the French and their allies.

Then the firing ceased. The enemy dispersing in small parties, the butchery of the cattle, the firing of the church and the empty houses, began. When the tide began to ebb the Indians made a huge fire-raft and sent it down stream ablaze; but nothing was accomplished, as the wash carried the raft upon the flats, where it burned itself out amid the mockery and jeers of the English. In the attack on the sloops the enemy were so near, says Mather, "as to throw mud aboard with their hands." They did succeed several times in setting fire to the vessels; but with mops tied to the ends of long poles, the English were able to extinguish the flames.

The second day went with no advantage to the enemy. The most important incident of the second day was this. Before the French and the Indians

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came, a scouting-force of six men had been sent toward Berwick. On their return they came unexpectedly upon the Indians, and one of them shouted, "Captain Convers, wheel your men round the hill and these few dogs are ours!" The ruse worked, so that they were all able to get into the fort. The enemy had exhausted all their ingenuity. Labocree had been killed, and many of their men, so deadly had been the fire of Storer's men. Baffled in their attempt to subdue the garrison, doubtless regarding it hazardous to remain in the vicinity longer, they vented their chagrin on their prisoner, whom they proceeded to put to the torture. When the poor fellow was dead they decamped as they had come, no one knew whither.¹

It was a great victory for the English, and a like discouraging defeat for the enemy. When the fight began there was but one soldier at Littlefield's garrison, with Mrs. Littlefield, who were its only occupants. Littlefield had gone to the marsh to look at some hay. While on the marsh he heard the signal-guns. His first thought was of his wife. As he neared his house he saw the Indians had already invested it. Wheelright's garrison was close by. Gaining the shelter of a fence, Littlefield drew himself slowly along within its shadow until he reached Wheelright's. From its port-holes he could see the Indians, a hundred or more, being held at

¹ Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 214.

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bay by one woman. Not being able to induce any one at Wheelright's to accompany him, he left unobserved by the Indians, and, dropping flat, for some seventy rods he hugged the covert of the fence, until it stopped five rods from his door. Between was an open space. Across this he must run the gauntlet of a hundred Indian bullets. The watchful eye of his wife had followed his every movement as he had edged along the fence. She was waiting for him at the gate.

Rising to his feet, he crossed the open space. The gate opened to the brave man. As it closed, it was riddled with bullets. By the ruse of a hat on a stick shown at different places above the top of the palisade, and an occasional musket-shot, Littlefield's wife had kept the garrison against a hundred savages. On the appearance of the Indians the soldier had hidden in the cellar. After Littlefield came he got the coward into action, and, between the three, the savages were driven off, leaving the inmates of the garrison unharmed.

The assault on Wells was the last for that year. Its failure discouraged the Abenake; and when Phips, by royal order, had begun the erection of a great stone fort at Pemaquid they were ready to submit. The French had accomplished very little for the savage, and the latter was beginning to appreciate the fact. Had it not been for the priests, the French would have lost the Abenake utterly.

When the French enterprise of 1693 upon Pema-

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quid turned out so tamely, even with its defences in an unfinished condition, this, as Parkman notes, "completed the discontent of the Abenakis; and despondency and terror seized them, when, in the spring of 1693, Convers, the defender of Wells, ranged the frontier with a strong party of militia, and built another stone fort at the Falls of the Saco."

In August, 1693, a peace conference was held at Pemaquid. Thirteen chiefs were present, representing, actually, or by assumption, all the savage tribes from the St. Croix on the east to the Merri-mac on the west. They disclaimed the French, and acknowledged themselves as subject to the English king. The hatchet was buried as deeply as an Indian could bury it. They were to bring in their captives. To show their sincerity, they left with the English five hostages.¹

It is not to be doubted the Indians, at least some of them, were convinced that the English were not to be overcome by the French method of conducting the war. Even the Tarratines were satisfied that Boston was not only their nearest market, but, as well, their best; and Madockawando, especially, was anxious to procure the release of the captured Indians in the hands of the English. He was opposed, however, by Toxus, who was of a malignantly ferocious disposition, and loved nothing better than to butcher helpless women and chil-

¹ Mather, vol. ii., p. 625.

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dren, and to see the flames breaking through a cabin roof.

Then there were the priests, devilishly subtle and not less persistent; blind as so many bats; seeing no farther ahead than the orders of their superior; spiritually warped and misshapen; failing to realize the puny strength of Canada, or the constant aggregation and power of New England; for Boston at that time had a commerce equal to that of all the ports of Canada, not to mention the rapidly growing towns to the westward.

The French were determined to break the peace compact. Bigot and Thury were their most powerful coadjutors. Assacumbuit¹ had been to the French Court, a dirty savage, and had returned a knight, gaudily arrayed in his gold lace coat and the belted sword given him by the French Louis. The French fooled and flattered Toxus to the top of his bent. Villieu gave him his own best coat, and adopted him as one of his brothers.

But the English were not without influence, and the sentiment of the Abenake, especially of

¹Mather calls Assacumbuit "a bloody devil."

Magnalia, vol. vii., p. 93.

Penhallow calls "Mauxis, Wanungonet, and Assacombuit, three of their most valient and pussiant Sachems." Among the Abenake, Assacumbuit was the leader of the Pequawkets, whose settlement was along the upper waters of the Saco. He was with D'Iberville at the capture of St. John; with Subercase in his Newfoundland campaign; also at Haverhill in

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Madockawando's people, was against continuing hostilities. The wise counsels of the Tarratine sachem prevailed; yet matters were so uncertain that it was possible the Pemaquid compact would go for naught.

Villieu had replaced Portneuf, but Thury was the most dependable factor. While Madockawando was absent at Pemaquid a conference was held at Pentagoët to inspire the war-spirit. The meeting was successful, and the counsels of Villieu and Thury prevailed until Madockawando had returned from Pemaquid, bringing the news that the English were to restore the Indian prisoners at once. Villieu, Bigot, and Thury were on the verge of defeat. They were wholly so when the Indians heard that an English minister was coming to Pemaquid to teach their children. The Abenake would not listen to Villieu or his Jesuits. It was then that Villieu was told privately that Phips had been to

1708, and at Casco in 1703. In 1706 he went to France and was knighted by Louis, when this savage held up his right hand with the bloody boast: "This hand has slain one hundred and forty of your majesty's enemies in New England."

Penhallow, p. 40.

Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 294.

His tribe was dispersed by Lovewell before Assacumbuit died.

Drake (*Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., p. 116) mentions his war-club which carried ninety-six notches. Each notch was a mortuary suggestion of the tomahawk, else an unerring bullet.

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the Pemaquid coast, and that Madockawando had been entertained by the English governor aboard ship, and that the sachems "had thrown their hatchets into the sea, in token of everlasting peace." So Villieu gave up the enterprise; but Thury kept at Toxus until he had aroused his jealousy to the pitch that he declared that he would have nothing to do with the treaty which Madockawando had presumed to enter into without his advice and consent.

The Indians were as fickle as the wind, and Toxus once more had the Tarratines with him, clamoring savagely for English scalps. Villieu again took heart, and, once more at Pentagoët, he gave a war-feast, at which Madockawando and his party were so mercilessly taunted and ridiculed that the latter at last consented to a continuance of the enterprise.

In June the war-party left the Penobscot, one hundred five savages, with Villieu and Thury to support them in their determination. It was to be the bloodiest assault yet undertaken. No captives were to be taken. The slaughter was to be indiscriminate and complete. When they got to the Kennebec a party of Bigot's converts was to join the expedition. At Pemaquid, Villieu, disguised, went ashore, where he made a plan of the English works. The main party, keeping farther out to sea, made the passage without discovery.

Bigot kept his word, sending one hundred

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twenty-five savages. They were unsettled in their destination, but, being pressed by hunger, they pitched upon Oyster River, a settlement not far from Portsmouth, as the first to be attacked. Once in the neighborhood, scouts were sent out, who reported that the place kept no watch, but was well supplied with garrison-houses, having no less than twelve, all of which were capable of a stout defence.

Oyster River is a tributary — on the west — of the Piscataqua. The settlement occupied both sides of the stream; but no danger was apprehended, as the rumor that Governor Phips had declared the war closed had gained local credence. The place was in so negligible a condition that some of the garrisons were without powder. The Indians approached the place without discovery, and, coming to the falls on the evening of July 17, 1694, went into hiding, after dividing into two parties, one of which was to go down the north side of the stream, while the other was to take the south side. Once disposed on either side of the river, they were to divide into smaller parties, so that every house could be attacked simultaneously upon a given signal. The hour of attack agreed upon was that of sunrise. A musket-shot was to be the signal.

John Dean, whose house was very near the saw-mill, arose before dawn to go out upon some errand, and was shot down when leaving his door. This shot precipitated the assault and jeopardized the plan of the savages, as some of these small parties

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had some distance to go to reach the particular houses they were to attack. In that way some of the settlers were able to make their escape, while others had time to prepare for defence.

With the musket-shot that killed John Dean the massacre was on. Of the twelve garrisons, those of Adams, Drew, Medar, and Beard were one after another burned. The savages entered the Adams garrison unopposed, where they butchered fourteen. One, "being a woman with child, they ripped open."¹ Drew capitulated, but was killed, while his boy was made the target for the hatchets of the savages. Edgerly's was abandoned, its inmates getting away in some boats. Midstream, one of this party was shot. The inmates of the two other garrisons escaped. The other houses were burned as fast as their occupants were killed. Edgerly hid himself in his cellar, and, though his house was twice fired, he managed to save it, and his life as well. The clergyman, John Buss,² was away. His family made their

¹ Belknap, p. 138.

Mather, *Magnalia*, lib. 7, p. 86.

Charlevoix, lib. 15, p. 210.

² "John Buss is mentioned in the 3d volume, p. 250, of the first edition, as a practitioner of physic, and as having died in 1736, at the age of 108 years; but his age is overstated. It should be 96. In a petition from him to Gov. Shute and the General Assembly of Massachusetts, in 1718, he states that he had labored in the work of the ministry at Oyster-River 44 years successively; that he was then advanced to 78 years

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way safely into the woods; but his house, with its valuable library, was burned. John Dean's wife and child were captured and put in charge of an Indian who had some trouble with his head. She told him *occapee* (rum) would be good for it, and, running to her house, she got the rum, of which the Indian drank so freely that he soon after fell asleep, by which means she made her escape.

The other seven garrisons — Burnham's, Bickford's, Davis's, Jones's, Bunker's, Smith's, and Woodman's — were all successfully maintained against the savages. At Burnham's the gate was open. An inmate who was kept up with a bad tooth heard the first alarm and shut the gate, the savages who were to attack it being asleep under the river-bank. The Indians were upon the point of entering as he shut the gate in their faces.

Incensed at their failure, the savages ran at once to Pitman's and forced the door; but Pitman had

of age; that he had kept his station there, 'even in the time of the terrible Indian war, when many a score fell by the sword, both on the right hand and the left, and several others forced to flight for want of bread;' that he was then 'unable to perform the usual exercise of the ministry,' and that 'the people had not only called another minister, but stopped their hands from paying to his subsistence, whereupon he was greatly reduced, having neither bread to eat, nor sufficient clothing to encounter the approaching winter.' The ministers of Durham from that time down to our own days have not unfrequently complained that they prophesied in sackcloth."

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 139, note.

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escaped, with his family. Davis, with his family, surrendered and was killed. Bickford's house was near the river, and enclosed with a palisade. Refusing to surrender, he kept up a steady musket-fire upon the savages, often changing his coat and hat, or cap, and sometimes without either, showing himself often to his assailants while shouting loudly his orders for the conduct of his defence, as if he were supported by many others; so that the savages finally withdrew. Captain Jones was aroused by his dogs, and, supposing the wolves were after his swine, he went out to secure them, but got back safely. He then went up into the flankart and placed himself on the wall. A gun flashed, but he had dropped out of range and the ball spent itself in the timbers. Thury took possession of the church; and here he used up some of his mental energy by writing on the pulpit with a bit of chalk.

Having accomplished their destructive errand on the south side of the river, the savages got together on a parcel of open ground near Burnham's, where they exhibited their captives to the garrison-folk. One of the men in the sentry-box shot one of the savages, after which they drew off, to go to the falls, where they were joined by those on the north side of the river; from which place they went to Woodman's garrison, which they attacked without result, to finally disappear in the direction of Winnipiseogee Lake, where the captives were appor-

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tioned.¹ In this raid about one hundred English were either killed or captured, and some twenty houses were burned.² This was the most disastrous raid south of the Piscataqua during this war.

Some forty savages, under Toxus, went westward

¹"Among these prisoners, were Thomas Drew and his wife, who were newly married. He was carried to Canada, where he continued two years and was redeemed. She to Norridgewog, and was gone four years, in which she endured everything but death. She was delivered of a child in the winter, in the open air, and in a violent snow storm. Being unable to suckle her child, or provide it any food, the Indians killed it. She lived fourteen days on a decoction of the bark of trees. Once they set her to draw a sled up a river against a piercing north-west wind, and left her. She was so overcome with the cold that she grew sleepy, laid down and was nearly dead, when they returned; they carried her senseless to a wigwam, and poured warm water down her throat, which recovered her. After her return to her husband she had fourteen children; they lived together till he was ninety-three, and she eighty-nine years of age; they died within two days of each other, and were buried in one grave."

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 141, note.

²"Charlevoix, with his usual parade, boasts of their having killed two hundred and thirty people, and burned fifty or sixty houses. He speaks of only two forts, both of which were stormed. The Rev. John Pike, in his manuscript Journal, says they 'killed and carried away 94 persons and burnt 18 houses.' As he then lived in Dover and made a record of the event near the time it occurred, we can probably depend upon the accuracy of his statement."

Ibid.

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to Groton.¹ Another party went to the Cutt farm, on the Piscataqua, where Ursula Cutt and three of her field laborers were ambushed and shot.² Belknap notes that the scalps taken in this expedition were carried to Canada by Madockawando and given to Frontenac, who generously rewarded the Tarratine sachem for his treachery to the English at Pemaquid.

The incursions of the Indians after this were of a desultory character; for, until July of 1695, no further outbreak is mentioned in the province of New Hampshire. In that month two men were shot at Exeter; and the following year John Church

¹Willard's *Sermon, Three Historical Addresses* (edited by Samuel Abbott Green).

Green, *Sketch of Groton*.

Sheldon records this to have been an especially troublesome year with the settlers of the Connecticut Valley. In the attack on Deerfield, September 15, 1694, this author places the French and Indians under Castreen. Who he may have been is not clear. It was in this raid that Hannah Beaman, the school-teacher, alarmed at the shot that killed young Daniel Severance, suddenly dismissed her school and with her little flock began a race with the savages for the fort. The feet of the children were shod with terror, but all got into the fort safely, with a rain of Indian bullets whistling over their heads as they scampered across the causeway at the foot of Meeting-house Hill.

Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. i., pp. 243, 244.

²Mather, *Magnalia*, lib. 7, p. 86.

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was shot and scalped at Cocheco. June 26 of the next year (1696) Portsmouth Plain was attacked, the savages coming from the Nubble at York, in canoes, to Sandy Beach, where fourteen were killed and as many as five houses were burned. This party was pursued by Captain Shackford, with a company of militia. He came upon them as they were getting their breakfast on a hill in Rye (Breakfast Hill), and, making a rush, the captives were rescued, while the savages, making their way down the slope, got into their canoes and were soon out of reach. Captain Gerrish set out in some shallops to intercept them if they should cross the water to the eastward that night; but the word to fire was given before the savages got into range, and, going out by the Isles of Shoals, they escaped. The watchword was "Crambo," and ever after that the officer who gave the word was dubbed Captain Crambo.

The peace compacts with the savages were no better than rotten flax; for in May, 1695, fifty canoes of Indians met the English at Rutherford Island,¹ where an exchange of prisoners was arranged, in which St. Castin appeared for the French governor, Frontenac. Williamson gives the date as May 20, 1695, and he says a truce was entered into;² but it was in June and July, as has been noted, that the

¹*Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. vii., p. 63.

²Williamson, *History of Maine*, vol. i., p. 641.
New York Col. Docs., vol. ix., p. 642.

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affairs at Exeter, Cocheco, and Portsmouth Plain occurred.

Bourne notes that on May 1, 1695, several sagamores came to the Storer garrison in Wells and made a peace treaty, offering the return of their captives. They brought with them two children, and said there were seven more at the Kennebec and several at Penobscot, as well as some further east. The captives were to be delivered within twenty days. This compact was broken, as had been all the others; for, shortly after, some English were killed at Saco, and no mention is made of any captives having been returned.

The following year the savages came into York, and Thomas Cole and his wife were ambushed and shot. The middle of August, 1696, the French had invested the great fort at Pemaquid, built by Colonel Church, and Pasco Chubb had capitulated.¹ The surrender has been regarded as of the most

¹Harris's *Voyages*, vol. ii., p. 305 (edition of 1764), says Chubb was arrested by Colonel Gedney, who was sent east with three ships of war, on hearing of the surrender of the fort, and that no French or Indians could be found; that after he strengthened the garrison he returned home.

"Col. Gedney had been by land with 500 men, to secure the eastern frontiers. Finding the enemy gone, he strengthened the garrisons, which were not taken. He also arrested Pasco Chubb, for surrendering Pemaquid Fort, while under his command in July, and had him brought to Boston. Here Capt. Chubb was confined, till it was decided that he should lose his commission, and not be eligible for any other. This

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cowardly character; but Chubb and his men had saved their lives, under the prompt interference of D'Iberville and St. Castin, and the fort had been razed. The French were masters at Pemaquid. The stronghold that threatened Penobscot and Acadia had been destroyed. In King William's War it was the only achievement on the part of the French worthy of note. Nor would that disaster befallen had another Convers been in command. The intention of the French was to invest Boston, but it fell through.

It now remains to note the tragedy of Haverhill. In the month of March, 1697, Thomas Dustin was working in his field. An Indian war-whoop broke the silence. Dropping his tool and getting his musket, which he kept always within reach, he started toward his house, shouting to his children to run to the garrison. He had eight, the youngest being but a week born. The mother was in bed, under the care of her nurse, Mary Neff.

"Run for the garrison!" he shouted to his children.

unfortunate man, with his wife, Hannah, and three others, were killed by the Indians at Andover, Feb. 22, 1698."

Rev. Mr. Felt's *Annals of Salem*.

"A naval force was sent at the same time; hence, the accounts are not altogether irreconcilable. Three men-of-war were sent out in pursuit of the French, 'but meeting with contrary winds, they could never get sight of them.'"

Neal, *History of New England*, vol. ii., p. 551.

Drake's *Book of the Indians*, vol. iii., p. 113, notes.

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Dustin rushed to his barn for his horse, the savages almost at his heels. He knew he could not save the women, but he might the children, who were making for the garrison as fast as their little legs would carry them. Dustin overtook the children, on his horse. He leaped to the ground, and using his horse as a barricade against the bullets of the savages, he shouted again, "Run for the garrison, children!" and off they sped on the wings of fear, while the father waited for the Indians to come up. At the house they had captured the two women. The brains of the babe were spattered over a near-by rock. The savages were coming with whoops after Dustin. Dustin waited, his eye strained along the length of his gun. A flash — an Indian dropped. Leaping to his saddle, he galloped up to his children.

"Run for the garrison! *RUN!*"

Dustin had loaded his gun as he rode, and, again on his feet behind his patient horse, he waited a second time. A spit of smoke, and another savage went down. A-saddle once more, he rode, the bullets cutting the wind about his ears. His gun again loaded, he was with the children:

"Run for the garrison! *Run! RUN!*"

Again, sheltered behind his horse, he was keeping the savages at bay; but the children were safe. Leaping to his saddle, he followed them into the garrison. Good horse! One can see Dustin patting the velvety neck of the clever brute, while his mas-

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ter's eyes drip with the agony of sorrow as his thought follows his wife into her captivity.

In less than an hour's time twenty-seven women and children had been butchered by the savages, and the sky was choked with the smoke of Haverhill's burning cabins. The savages were on their way into the wilderness with Hannah Dustin and Mary Neff and some other captives, who, with the exception of the two former, were all tomahawked before they came to the little island at the confluence of the Merrimac and the Contoocook Rivers, some six miles above Concord.

Here the Indians divided: twelve remained at the island with the captives, while the rest of the savages started out upon another murderous expedition. Here, these two women found a lad by the name of Samuel Leonardson, who had been captured some considerable time before. He understood the language of his captors.

Hannah Dustin asked the lad to find out where to strike with the tomahawk when one wished to kill quickly. The lad got the information for her. That night, with the aid of Mary Neff and the boy, she executed her plan for her release from a fate worse than death.

The savages are asleep. The smoke of the camp-fire trails off toward the river, as if beckoning her to freedom. She hears the surge of the river, for the March rains have swollen it to freshet-pitch; to fill the woods with its dull roar. It is sweet music.

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For her, the dark of this night is full of welcome. The savages are still sleeping. Awaking Mary Neff and the lad, she gives the signal; then, with sickening gride, the tomahawks begin their deadly work. The three captives, with nerves of steel and the stealthy tread of wood-cats, glide among their slumbering enemies to rain death upon them. It is a fearful retribution, but the work is done. Gathering up the guns, and taking sufficient provisions, they load one canoe. The others are scuttled. They are ready to push out upon the black waters of the Merrimac.

Mary Neff and the lad are in the canoe. The lad's fingers are wet and sticky with blood. He is afraid.

"Let's go! Let's get away!" he pleads.

But Hannah Dustin has forgotten something. She has gone back to the camp-fire. In the light of the smouldering brands there is the glitter of a knife. Another moment, gripped in her hand, are twelve dripping scalps. For the first time fear has begun to tug at her skirts. Throwing her trophies into the canoe, she follows, and with strong, swift strokes drives the birchen shell into the middle of the stream, and the mists of the breaking dawn have swallowed them. Haverhill is sixty miles down stream. But the river current is swift and kindly, and every moment of the growing day is taking her nearer home and safety. So Hannah Dustin became the heroine of Haverhill.¹

¹"Hannah Dustan now resolved on a desperate effort to

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Mather says two of the twelve savages killed at Contoocook Island were squaws.

The final tragedy of King William's War was the killing of Major Frost.¹ Waldron had paid his debt

escape, and Mary Neff and the boy agreed to join in it. They were in the depths of the forest, half-way on their journey, and the Indians, who had no distrust of them, were all asleep about their camp-fire, when, late in the night, the two women and the boy took each a hatchet, and crouched silently by the bare heads of the unconscious savages. Then they all struck at once, with blows so rapid and true that ten of the twelve were killed before they were well awake. One old squaw sprang up wounded, and ran screeching into the forest, followed by a small boy whom they had purposely left unharmed. Hannah Dustan and her companions watched by the corpses till daylight; then the Amazon scalped them all, and the three made their way back to the settlements, with the trophies of their exploit."

Parkman, *Frontenac and New France*, pp. 406, 407.

Parkman has adopted Mather's account. Niles, Hutchinson, and others relate the incident.

"It was in 1697, on the 15 of March, that the town of Haverhill, in Massachusetts, was attacked by the Indians, and some of the prisoners there taken were brought into New Hampshire, among whom was the intrepid Hannah Duston, whose story is well known. It was on a small island at the mouth of the Contoocook river, about six miles above the State House in Concord, that she destroyed her captors. She and her coadjutors killed two men, two women, and six others, and having scalped them, carried their scalps to Boston."

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 143, note.

¹"Charles Frost, born in Tiverton, Eng., 1632; came over

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years before, and now the reckoning was to be had with Frost; for the Indian had a good memory.

At old Quampegan (South Berwick) was an ancient church, where the first regular church service in these parts was inaugurated; for it was John Mason, the partner of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who sent over with his colonists (1631) a communion-set; also a "great Bible and twelve Service Books;" and here at Quampegan (old Newichawannock) was observed the Episcopal ritual. It was from this old church, known in 1688 as the Parish of Unity, that Major Frost, in company with Dennis Downing, John Heard and his wife, Phoebe, was going to his home after morning service.

with his father Nicholas about 1637; Deputy, 1658-61; Counsellor, 1693; Captain and Major, commanding the Yorkshire militia; was Judge of the Common Pleas when he was shot by the Indians, 14 July, 1697, age 65."

Savage's *Genealogical Dictionary*, vol. ii., p. 210.

Williamson's *History of Maine*, vol. i., p. 674.

New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vol. iii., pp. 249-262.

"He was the representative of Kittery in the General Court of Massachusetts in the years 1658, 1660 and 1661, and was long an active and useful officer in the Indian wars. He is named by Hubbard in his *Wars with the Eastern Indians*, p. 28. Under the charter of William and Mary, at the first election of counsellors, in 1693, he was selected for one of those to be chosen for Maine. He was probably related to the Frosts of New Hampshire, where the name has continued with reputation from an early period to the present time."

Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 143, note.

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It was July 4, 1697. They had come to a place in the bridle-path opposite a huge boulder, about a mile north of the Frost garrison. The sharp reports of three guns broke the silence of the woods. Frost and Downing were instantly killed.¹ The Heard woman, though sorely wounded, tried to regain her saddle. Falling upon the trail, helpless, she urged her husband to ride for his life; for the women were brave and self-sacrificing in those days, and there were children at home to be saved. Heard obeyed. He reached his cabin, gathered the children together, and got them safely to the garrison, though his horse was shot under him as he rode up to the

¹"The death of one so important to the defense of the Province, was a sad event to the people. Soon after the news reached Wells it was communicated to Capt. John Hill in the following homely, though affecting letter. It cannot fail to be read with interest. 'Brother Hill. It hath pleased God to take away Major Frost. The Indians waylaid him last Sabbath day as he was coming home from meeting at night and killed him; and John Heard's wife and Denis Downing, and John Heard is wounded. The good Lord sanctify it to us all. It is a great loss to the whole province, and especially to his family, and last Monday the post that came to Wells, as they went to go whom the Indians killed them about the marked tree. Namely, Nicholas Smith, Proper, and Henning Simpson. Brother, Mistress Frost is full of sorry; and all his children, Cousin Charles and John was with their father, and escaped wonderfully and several others with them. Capt. Brackett went with some of his company a Monday by the way of Newichawannock, and I went with them and was

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garrison gate. Heard was a famous Indian-fighter, and his life was forfeit with the first savage opportunity.

The body of Major Frost was decently buried; but the savages came in the night and opened his grave and, taking his remains to the top of Frost's Hill, impaled it upon a stake. Such was the hatred the savages bore the man, dead, who had participated in Waldron's ruse. The great boulder where Frost fell is known to this day as Ambush Rock.

Major March assumed Major Frost's command, and was given five hundred men for the frontier service. It was a case of locking the stable after the horse had been stolen, such was the indifference or penuriousness of the colonial government.

The Indians were still ravaging in small parties, without organization, carrying on a guerilla warfare, keeping the settlements in a perpetual state of anxiety. Danger was constantly abroad; and on

there at the Major's funeral; and I see your wife full of grief; and your child is well. Mrs. Frost and sister and all your brothers and sisters remember their love to you; and earnestly desire you to come over if you can possible without danger.

“Pray do not venture in the day to come. Remember our love to all our Brothers and sisters and Cousins; and the good Lord keep us in these perilous times, and sanctify all his awful dispensations to us — no more at present, praying for you

“Wells the 10th July, 1697. Your loving Brother,
JOSEPH STORER.”

Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 222.

ST. CASTIN'S WAR

August 1, 1697, Major March cautioned the settlers to be watchful as they went from place to place, or wrought afield; for it was the time of year when the settlers were getting their hay and the neighboring woodlands afforded innumerable coverts for the lurking savage. That same summer a man standing sentinel over a meadow where others were haying was shot. Another was captured and taken into the woods a short distance and tortured at the stake.

Such are the finals in the gruesome history of the war in New England known as King William's,—the story of a senseless war,—the aftermath of the outbreak of King Philip, which the English invoked upon themselves by their shortsighted greed and oppression of the red man — that lasted almost a decade, to end only with the Peace of Ryswick, 1698.

This was followed by an intimation from Frontenac to the Abenake that the French could no longer entertain them with plans, encouragement, or means to carry on further aggressions against the English. He suggested the restoration of the prisoners they had taken, and suggested that their welfare would be best obtained by a burial of the hatchet. There is no record that he ever offered to restore those poor unfortunates who had been sold by the savages into French slavery.

The country was devastated. The Indians had suffered much, though not in the same way as the

INDIAN WARS OF NEW ENGLAND

English. They were on the verge of starvation, and discouraged, yet their animosities were as lively as ever. They, however, after a lapse of time, came to Casco, where they entered into a treaty¹ by which they acknowledged the supremacy of the English Crown and pledged themselves to future obedience and good behaviour. Such was the inglorious termination of the swart ambitions of the priest-ridden Louis XIV., and the brutal and merciless inspirations of Count Frontenac, who was no less a dupe to his ambitions than was his royal master.

¹According to Wheeler (*History of Brunswick*, pt. i., p. 52), a conference between the Massachusetts Commissioners and the sagamores of the Penobscot, Kennebec, Androscoggin, and Saco tribes was had at Mair Point, where a peace treaty, formerly entered at Pemaquid,— i.e., August 11, 1693,— was newly confirmed. This latter conference was on January 7, 1699. Wheeler does not give his authority for this statement, the date of which seems open to question.

AUTHOR'S NOTE ON COL. BENJAMIN CHURCH.—In giving to Church his military titles, those given in the narrations in authorities consulted have been adhered to. He served as a Sergeant in the Pequod War; as *Reformado* (unattached) through a portion of King Philip's War; was commissioned Captain, by Gov. Josiah Winslow, July 24, 1676; as Major, by the Council of War for New Plymouth, and confirmed by Governor Bradstreet, September 17, 1689; as Colonel, by Governor Dudley, March 18, 1703-04, on Church's "Fifth and Last Expedition, *East*," which preceded by a few months the breaking out of Queen Anne's War (1703).

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